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# The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

CONTINUING

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## FRENCH-CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, 1775-1785

M. ELIZABETH ARTHUR

THE Quebec Act has so often been called the Magna Carta of French-Canadian liberties<sup>1</sup> that it is easy to attribute to it a cataclysmic quality that it did not possess. The vehemence of the criticism levelled at its terms by the English merchants of the 1770's, and the constancy of the support given to its principles by political leaders of later generations, have combined to create the impression that it gave French Canadians a real share in their own government. This belief has had an important corollary. It has given Guy Carleton, the Governor responsible for the passing of the Act, a reputation for enlightened statesmanship; he has even been described as a man whom every French Canadian would honour if he knew the facts.<sup>2</sup> Thus the significance of the Act and the political reputation of the Governor are so inextricably linked that to question one is to impugn the other. Nevertheless, the evidence offered by the provisions of 1774 and by the experience of the next decade suggests that the importance of the Quebec Act in the political history of French Canada has often been exaggerated.

The first questions to be answered are simply these. In what ways did the Quebec Act offer guarantees to the French Canadians, and in what ways did it represent a radical departure from the policy which Carleton found in practice when he came to Canada? Those who emphasize the far-reaching effects of the Quebec Act usually fasten upon three of its provisions; each of these must be considered if these questions are to be answered.

In the first place, the Roman Catholic Church was given the legal authority to collect tithes. But tithes had been collected, without such authority, throughout the years from 1764 to 1774. Some Englishmen in the colony had commented upon the willingness

<sup>1</sup>For example, see Mason Wade, *The French-Canadian Outlook* (New York, 1946), 52. For major modern studies of the Quebec Act, see A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1933), R. Coupland, *The Quebec Act* (Oxford, 1925), C. Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929), and H. Neatby, *The Administration of Justice under the Quebec Act* (Minneapolis, 1937).

<sup>2</sup>Wilfrid Bovey, *The French Canadians Today* (Toronto, 1938), 66.

with which they were generally paid<sup>3</sup> and, in cases where payment was not forthcoming, church authorities had not hesitated to use the threat of excommunication,<sup>4</sup> which was likely to be as effective as court action. Moreover, this recognition of existing practice was in line with the British policy of the 1760's. Before Carleton had come to Canada, a Roman Catholic bishop had already been recognized, even if the British Government continued to refer to him as a superintendent.<sup>5</sup>

Much more important for French Canadians was the provision of the Quebec Act which permitted Roman Catholics to hold public office. This was admittedly a reversal of the law in force in Canada after the cession, and it antedated a similar act in Britain by more than half a century. Nevertheless, two points must be considered in regard to this concession. First, the fact that the overwhelming majority of Canadians were Roman Catholic made such a provision essential, and the advice of legal authorities in Britain for the preceding decade had been almost unanimous on this point. Secondly, the admission of Roman Catholics to public office could be considered a revolutionary step only if it resulted in distinct changes in both the composition and the policy of the Canadian Government. Later in this article an attempt will be made to show that the entry of Roman Catholics into public life had virtually no effect at all for a number of years after the Quebec Act was passed.

The most significant provision of the Act, however, was the one assuring French Canadians the continuance of their civil law and customs, and of government by a governor and appointed council. One French-Canadian leader, Chartier de Lotbinière, was astute enough to point out a possible conflict. If the Governor and Council had legislative power in the British sense, French civil law was not really guaranteed. Could not legislative action in the future gradually, perhaps almost imperceptibly, whittle away the so-called fundamental law of Canada? What would be the almost inevitable judicial decision—particularly in a British court of appeal—if a specific law of Canada were contested on the grounds that it contravened the general promise of French civil law extended by the British Parliament in 1774?<sup>6</sup> Actually, then, the value of the Quebec

<sup>3</sup>J. Edmond Roy, *Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon* (Lévis, 1900), III, 143, cites Richard Murray to Briand, Quebec, Dec. 17, 1766.

<sup>4</sup>Henry Cavendish, *Debates on the Quebec Bill* (London, 1839), 70; *Quebec Archives Report*, 1929-30 (Beaumont, 1931), 81, Briand to Jacques Hensau, 1769.

<sup>5</sup>P.A.C., Series Q, XVIIIB, 64-83, Report of Board of Trade, July 10, 1769.

<sup>6</sup>Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Sydney Papers, XI (unpaged), Choses indispensables à considérer . . . par Chartier de Lotbinière.

Act for French Canadians depended largely upon the influence they could wield in the Governor's Council.

Such influence, of course, might not necessarily be direct. Governor Carleton and many of his English associates prided themselves upon their defence of what they conceived to be French-Canadian interests; their sympathy for a conquered people and their determined opposition to any policy of anglicization won them the nickname, "the French party." So strong did this party prove that the fears of Chartier de Lotbinière seemed remote indeed in the first decade after the Quebec Act. From the French-Canadian point of view, however, the dominance of this party was not an unmixed blessing. In the first place, it might well be questioned whether a group alien in nationality, language, and religion could form an effective safeguard for all French-Canadian interests; the very nationalism that it was unconsciously fostering would some day destroy this French party. Secondly, the very power of the party had an unfortunate effect upon at least one class of French Canadians. The seigneurs whom the Quebec Act was designed to please felt themselves to be under no obligation to formulate a political creed of their own, or to perfect an organization outside the French party. In aligning themselves behind Governor Carleton, the seigneurs placed themselves in a position where the only virtue they had to cultivate was acquiescence, and acquiescence is not usually a characteristic that produces political leaders.

The danger of such a policy of drifting along behind the ship of state is immediately apparent; once that ship veered in a direction in which the seigneurs might not choose to follow, they would inevitably flounder helplessly. The solution that they thought they found at the time of the Quebec Act was, in actual fact, no solution at all, and the 1780's were to find the seigneurs as helpless as they had been twenty years before. Moreover, these years of nodding of heads and seconding of motions were a poor preparation for the future, and an excessive preoccupation with pleasing the Governor tended to render the seigneurial class suspect among other French Canadians. The clergy suspected that this association with non-Catholics was leading to scepticism, and all classes of French Canadians might well fear entrusting their cause to a group that not only was anglophilic, but also seemed subservient, mere tools of an English party.

It is of course not true that all the seigneurs were either backward-looking or unaware of the movements about them. At least two showed distinct signs of formulating a political philosophy that

did not always coincide with the one that Carleton had selected for them. These were Michel Chartier de Lotbinière and Antoine Juchereau-Duchesnay. Both of them opposed the exercise of arbitrary power by the Governor;<sup>7</sup> both expressed a willingness to consider the creation of an assembly;<sup>8</sup> both were representatives of families with distinguished records in New France, and both appear, from their letters, to have had an education superior to that of most of their contemporaries. Thus, the fact that their views did not coincide with those of Carleton cannot be disregarded on the grounds that they were the malcontents of their class, seeking to undermine the position of their compatriots who possessed a greater degree of wealth or popularity than they. Actually, their financial position seems to have been considerably better than that of most seigneurs.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps because they were more fully aware of the feeling of their *censitaires*, these men were able to see some of the unfortunate effects of the seigneurial system.<sup>10</sup> Both of them criticized the Quebec Act as an illiberal measure giving arbitrary power to a governor and his favourites.<sup>11</sup> Yet it must not be inferred that they had reached a high degree of political maturity, and certainly the contradictory evidence that Lotbinière gave before the House of Commons in 1774 shows that he was easily confused by a clever lawyer.<sup>12</sup> Still, he and Duchesnay did show signs of an awareness of the turn of events, and of a certain *penchant* for independent thought, although they received no official recognition as a result. It is true that Lotbinière went over to the American side in the Revolutionary War,<sup>13</sup> so that his connection with the French party was at an end almost as soon as the Quebec Act came into force. His son was also recognized as one of the most intelligent of the French-Canadian gentry, but, perhaps because his father's de-

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.; P.A.C., Collection Baby, XVI, 149-50, Duchesnay to Perrault, Beauport, Dec. 7, 1788.

<sup>8</sup>Cavendish, *Debates on the Quebec Bill*, 162; E. Fabre-Surveyor and F. J. Audet, *Les Députés de Saint-Maurice* (Three Rivers, 1934), 50.

<sup>9</sup>P.A.C., Series Q, LXII, 197, Clarke to Dundas, Quebec, May 28, 1793.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., Collection Baby, XVI, 159-60, Duchesnay to Perrault, Beauport, Dec. 5, 1790; Clements Library, Sydney Papers, XI, Choses indispensables. . . .

<sup>11</sup>P.A.C., Collection Baby, LVIII, 138-9, Duchesnay to Perrault, Beauport, Dec. 26, 1784; LVIII, 150, Duchesnay to Baby, Beauport, April 23, 1775; Clements Library, Sydney Papers, XI, Choses indispensables. . . .

<sup>12</sup>Cavendish, *Debates on the Quebec Bill*, 160-3.

<sup>13</sup>P.A.C., Series Q, LVII, 393-4, Haldimand to Germain, Quebec, Nov. 23, 1781.

fection could be used as an excuse for keeping him out of office, he was not admitted to the Governor's Council until 1796.<sup>14</sup>

Duchesnay was even more scrupulously ignored, although there had been no question of his loyalty during the American invasion.<sup>15</sup> Not until the elections of 1792 did he enter the Government of the colony, when both he and the younger Lotbinière were returned as members of the first Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada.<sup>16</sup> This might suggest that the Governor's opinion was not shared by the electors, and it is certain that it was not shared by Lieutenant-Governor Allured Clarke, who recommended Duchesnay as a worthy member of the Council.<sup>17</sup>

If additional evidence were required to show that Carleton desired obedience and thorough-going conservatism rather than qualities of leadership and a questioning mind, an examination of the records of the men whom he did select to sit upon the Council in 1775 is most revealing. The fact that of twenty-three members named in that year only seven were French Canadians is in itself sufficient indication that Carleton expected little from the seigneurs.<sup>18</sup> The choice of these seven was even more remarkable. They were Antoine Pécaudy de Contrecœur, Charles Roch de St. Ours, Charles Tarieu de Lanaudière, Joseph Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, Louis Chapt Lacorne St. Luc, François Picotté de Bellestre, and Jean-Baptiste Bergères de Rigauville. None of these men seem to have been chosen for their outstanding ability, or for popularity during the previous decade with anyone but the Governor who selected them; several of them were Chevaliers de St. Louis, members of the most pro-French element in Canada. Then and later the most illiterate of the seigneurs seem to have been singled out for advancement, and the older and more impervious to new ideas they were, the better they seem to have pleased the Governor. Of the seven councillors chosen in 1775, however, four died within a year of their appointment, and the three who survived somewhat longer—Bellestre, de Léry, and St. Luc—gave little indication that they were

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., Series Q, LXXI, 464, Dorchester to Simcoe, Quebec, April 25, 1795.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., Collection Baby, XCIV, 86, Duchesnay to Baby, Albany, Feb. 8, 1776; *Quebec Gazette*, Oct. 14, 1790, letter of Duchesnay on behalf of the seigneurs who fought at St. John's.

<sup>16</sup>P.A.C., Journal of Assembly of Lower Canada, 1792, 6.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., Series Q, XLII, 197, Clarke to Dundas, Quebec, May 25, 1793.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., Que. Leg. Council Minutes, D. 1.

leaders of French Canada or that they were prepared to play a very important part in the Government.

Bellestre had begun his career under English rule as an officer much suspected by the authorities at Detroit,<sup>19</sup> chiefly because of the variety of his claims to property and the strength of his attachment to France. He had a reputation for a hot temper and an arrogant disposition that were most clearly illustrated by his brawl with one Salisbury Franks on the day that the Quebec Act came into force.<sup>20</sup> These qualities were not likely to endear him to his *censitaires*. In fact, the American invasion showed him to be one of the most unpopular of the seigneurs,<sup>21</sup> while his conduct throughout nearly twenty years in the Council never suggested that he abounded in plans for the colony. Actually, it is possible to read the Council minutes for session after session at which he was present, and almost never to find a resolution that he either made or seconded, or any reasons that he gave for agreement or disagreement with a particular measure. His votes on numberless resolutions are recorded but, at least until after 1785, it seems impossible to discover any policy that influenced these votes.

Chaussegros de Léry bore a name that was famous in French Canada, and he had himself won prominence during the Seven Years' War. In the 1760's, however, he seems to have received notice chiefly because he was the first seigneur to kiss the hand of George III. This evidence of devotion, even though several of his sons were at the time in the French service,<sup>22</sup> was sufficient to gain him an annual pension of £200 sterling, much to the surprise and even the amusement of his countrymen.<sup>23</sup> Their reaction to the news of his pension suggests that their opinion of his political ability was scarcely higher than that expressed by the Earl of Hertford in a letter to Lord Halifax: "If I can judge by the conversation which I had with him, he is a person of so very shallow a capacity that, except upon matters of the most publick and general report, his information would be fitter to mislead than to guide your lord-

<sup>19</sup>Clements Library, Gage Papers, American Series, XL (unpaged), Gage to John Campbell, New York, Aug. 2, 1763.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Shelburne Papers, LXVI, 42-3, Maseres to Shelburne, London, Aug. 9, 1775; P.A.C., Series Q, XI, 162, Carleton to Dartmouth, Quebec, May 15, 1775.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Series B, XXXII, 625-8, Edward Foy to MacLean, Quebec, July 24, 1777.

<sup>22</sup>Quebec Archives Report, 1933-4, 1, Note re de Léry family.

<sup>23</sup>P.A.C., Collection Baby, VII, 231, Le Compte Dupré to Baby, Quebec, April 12, 1770.

ship."<sup>24</sup> Carleton, however, had selected this man as early as 1770 as a leader whose inclusion in the Government would please all French Canadians.<sup>25</sup>

Once he was appointed to the Council, de Léry did show a certain interest in politics, and he attended meetings faithfully, but there are no indications that he ever had a hand in shaping government policy, and, in some cases, it is difficult to discover what motives he could have had for some of his extraordinary decisions. For example, he registered his vote, quite understandably, against allowing optional juries in mercantile cases.<sup>26</sup> Having thus shown his determination to oppose the introduction of English law, he proceeded to support a motion that the common law of England should be used in every case not specifically mentioned in the ordinance under discussion.<sup>27</sup> It is difficult to reconcile the man's rejection of one small part of English law with his acceptance of a resolution that would have introduced it in a multitude of cases. In fact, de Léry's conduct throughout the sessions of the Council certainly suggests that he was frequently ill informed on the issues upon which he cast his vote.

Lacorne St. Luc belonged to quite a different category from that of Bellestre and de Léry. A shrewd and successful importer of velvet and lace at a time when it was unusual for a seigneur to engage so openly in trade,<sup>28</sup> his honesty had been suspect ever since his connection with the Grande Société of Bigot,<sup>29</sup> although his ability was never questioned. His influence with the Indians, moreover, was so great that many Englishmen feared his presence among them.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, Carleton saw an excellent chance of using this influence to the advantage of the Government, just as St. Luc perceived the benefits he might reap from a close association with the Governor. In consequence, the rancour with which the Guy John-

<sup>24</sup>Clements Library, Shelburne Papers, XXXVIII, 38, Hertford to Halifax, Paris, Feb. 1, 1764.

<sup>25</sup>P.A.C., Dartmouth Papers, I, 208, List of suggested councillors, 1770.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Que. Leg. Council Minutes, D. 209, Minutes for April 23, 1784.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., D. 265.

<sup>28</sup>W. D. Lighthall, "Lacorne St. Luc, the General of the Indians," *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, Series III, II, 32-8.

<sup>29</sup>Clements Library, Gage Letter-books (unpaged), Gage to Amherst, Montreal, July 6, 1762.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., Gage Papers, American Series, CXI (unpaged), Turnbull to Gage, Michillimackinac, June 26, 1772.

son—Daniel Claus clique wrote about St. Luc may well have arisen from the seigneur's support of Carleton in the disputes over the fur trade and over permitting traders to enter the Indian country.<sup>31</sup> But, as in the case of the other councillors, St. Luc was not popular with his own countrymen,<sup>32</sup> and this fact prevented him from reaching the position of leadership that one might have expected a man of his intelligence to attain. In one important respect, St. Luc differed from the other six French Canadians appointed to the Council in 1775. A shrewd and perhaps unscrupulous man, he followed the policy of ingratiating himself with the Governor, but only as the best means of gaining his own objectives. He, like the religious leaders of French Canada, was prepared to be acquiescent only so long as it suited his convenience.

In this important respect Lacorne St. Luc pointed the way for other French Canadians to follow, and his example served to guide other seigneurs who were admitted to the Council in the ensuing years. Still more important, it suggested a new policy to the representatives of the *bourgeois* class, whom Carleton had excluded from his Council in 1775 because he felt that they were contaminated by their connections with the English merchants. St. Luc showed that an intelligent trader might insinuate himself into the Governor's Council, provided he made loyalty to the Crown and obedience to the Governor the cornerstones of his policy.

The most important of the men who profited by St. Luc's example was François Baby, a merchant of Quebec. An able and thoughtful man of affairs, Baby had long given support to the Government but, in the past, he had expressed himself very clearly against the slavish following of the Governor's wishes which he observed in some quarters. In 1773, in a letter to his friend, Pierre Guy, he criticized the foolishness and timidity that had led Bishop Briand, Lanaudière, and Rigauville (both of these seigneurs were later to be councillors) to write a letter of praise to Chief Justice Hey, in the hope that it would raise their stock with the Governor.<sup>33</sup> At this point, Baby and his friends were departing the general apathy among French Canadians, and they were even showing signs of a certain nationalistic fervour, grouping all the English in the colony together, regardless of their support for French or English parties. Just before the

<sup>31</sup>A. C. Flick, ed., *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1921-39), VI, 303, Claus to Johnson, Montreal, Aug. 3, 1768; VIII, 841, Claus to Johnson, Lachine, July 8, 1773.

<sup>32</sup>Lighthall, "Lacorne St. Luc, the General of the Indians," 32.

<sup>33</sup>P.A.C., Collection Baby, XLIX, 27, Baby to Guy, Quebec, Aug. 29, 1773.

Quebec Act was passed, for example, Baby was predicting that the French would gain some advantages, but not enough to sustain them against the powerful and ever increasing English group.<sup>34</sup>

Baby was bitterly disappointed when he did not receive an appointment in 1775, either to the Legislative Council or as a judge of the Common Pleas.<sup>35</sup> It was extremely annoying for him and his friends to see the haughtiest and least astute of the seigneurs sitting in the Council, and Hertel de Rouville gracing the bench of the Common Pleas. Rouville, of course, had had experience in the law under the French régime, and he was an obvious choice as the first French-Canadian Roman Catholic judge to be appointed since the cession, but the reaction of his fellow-countrymen to the news of his appointment was startling. Duchesnay expressed his incredulity that any government should consider for a moment the worst rogue and scoundrel in the colony.<sup>36</sup> When Jean-Claude Panet (followed by Pierre Méru Panet in 1778) received the next appointment in preference to Baby, it became very clear that a merchant could hope for no favours from Carleton unless he subscribed sedulously to the views of the French party.

The combined shock of these appointments and the American invasion of 1775-6 forced the prominent merchants into a new position. Unless Baby and his group were prepared to align themselves with the British merchants and perhaps with the American forces as well, they had to draw closer to the governing group at Quebec, pushing resolutely into the background any feeling against the French party which they had freely expressed before 1775. The example of his relative, Lacorne St. Luc, may well have suggested to Baby the course that he was to follow. While there were plenty of instances of Baby's honest loyalty to the Government in the ensuing years, at the same time it seems clear that he understood fully the advantages of gaining favour by placating the official group. When Carleton was leaving Canada in 1778, it was Baby who declared that the residents of the colony should sign an expression of gratitude to him for, as he put it, "unless I am mistaken, our future interest demands this step."<sup>37</sup>

Baby's own interests were at last served when he became a councillor in 1778, a position which he was to hold for forty years. During that time he was to be denounced as a puppet of the

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, XLIX, 35, Letter of François Baby, London, March 17, 1774.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, XXV, 172, J. Perras to Pierre Guy, Quebec, April 27, 1775.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, LVIII, 150, Duchesnay to Baby, Beauport, April 23, 1775.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, XLIX, 73, Baby to Guy, Quebec, July 18, 1778.

Governor quite as roundly as the seigneurs ever were;<sup>38</sup> by the time of his death, he was to be recognized as one of the most conservative and anglophilic members of the Château Clique, but it is doubtful if he entered the Council with any such policy already formulated in his mind. When his niece wrote him her opinions of events in England, she included what might well have been a résumé of Baby's strategy in his early years in the Council. "People here have no great opinion of the French Canadians," she wrote. "A St. Luc or a Dupré is regarded not only as an ignorant man but also as an imbecile. They believe that they can lead us like children, but, believe me, if they were to discover an intelligent, talented man—in short, a man indispensable to the government—they would not dream of controlling him; they would not dare to refuse him anything."<sup>39</sup> Baby's conduct certainly suggests that his aim was to be the kind of leader that his niece described. In time, Englishmen came to complain about the favours heaped upon him and his numerous relatives,<sup>40</sup> and, at the same time, French Canadians were besieging him with requests to be laid before the Governor.<sup>41</sup> These would scarcely have been so persistent if they had not enjoyed a very good chance of success.

The entrance of Baby into the Council in 1778 marked an important step in the development of French-Canadian participation in government. He was an astute business man with wide contacts and great personal popularity, and he offered a startling contrast to the French-Canadian councillors already appointed. Furthermore he had not shown any of the inflexibility of so many of the seigneurs, and he had a clear knowledge of conditions throughout the colony. As time went on he seemed to become the leader of the French-Canadian group in the Council and his influence naturally was increasingly great with newcomers to the Council. Paul Roch de St. Ours and Joseph de Longueuil were appointed at about the same time as Baby and they, along with Lacorne St. Luc, recorded their votes at meeting after meeting in one bloc with Baby. Bellestre was unreliable as a supporter, and de Léry seems to have had little other motive than voting against Baby, but the first signs that the French

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, LV, 282-6, Placard found in the home of M. Perras, Feb. 27, 1785.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, LVIII, 27, Thérèse Benoit Ryves to her uncle, François Baby, London, March 18, 1783.

<sup>40</sup>P.A.C., Series C.O. 42, XXII, 25-6, Osgoode to J. B. Borland, Quebec, Oct. 27, 1795.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, Collection Baby, XXIV, 381, Jautard to Baby, Quebec, Oct. 2, 1782; XXVIII, 230-1, J. F. Perrault to Perrault l'ainé, Montreal, Sept. 12, 1780.

Canadians, although always in the minority, might wield some influence in the Council belong to the period after Baby's appointment.

Two conditions, however, were likely to limit the effectiveness of Baby in the Council. In the first place, an excessive interest in pleasing the Governor and too loud an attachment to the French party might mean that he would be classed with the seigneurs as an anglophile and a sceptic. He was far abler than most of the seigneurs, yet he might make the same fundamental error, and so sacrifice much of the promising future that seemed to be before him in 1778. In the second place, Baby's concern was primarily for the economic welfare of the country, and his interest in politics had not yet developed very far. In their correspondence, he and his friends confined themselves almost entirely to discussions of the state of business, even in years when events of great importance were taking place in Canada.<sup>42</sup> It was natural that this should be so, particularly for the generation of men who had suffered from the financial crashes of the 1750's and the 1760's, but, so long as this condition persisted, there was little chance that Baby or other prominent merchants would offer the French Canadians the leadership that the seigneurs had failed to give.

The benefits that the Quebec Act extended to French Canadians would seem, then, to have been over-exaggerated. The Roman Catholic Church was permitted to continue its former practice in the matter of tithes; Roman Catholics were admitted to office, and French civil law continued to be enforced. But the number of Roman Catholics in office was astonishingly small in the decade after the Quebec Act, and the strengthening of the forces opposed to French civil law was a much more noticeable characteristic of the period than the organization of French Canadians to protect the rights which they had been guaranteed. With the exception of the inauguration ceremony of 1775, no council meeting for twelve years after the Quebec Act was attended by more than six French-Canadian members, and, for months during the American war, de Léry was the only Roman Catholic present. Being outnumbered at least two to one at all sessions<sup>43</sup> was only one of the disadvantages under which the French-Canadian members laboured. Their lack of

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, XXV, 113-213, letters of Guy to Baby and Baby to Guy, Montreal and Quebec, 1770-8.

<sup>43</sup>In 1775 the proportion was seven French Canadians to sixteen English; in 1777 there were only four to fifteen English; by 1785 the French-Canadian representation had risen to five while the English representation had sunk to thirteen.

acquaintance with government affairs and their lack of interest in politics were both conditions which might be regarded as temporary, and which no English governor could immediately remedy. The exclusion of several able French Canadians, and the inclusion of those most acquiescent to the wishes of the Governor's party, however, suggest a deliberate policy of giving French Canada only nominal representation and of exploiting rather than ameliorating the difficulties which these first members were bound to face.

It is true that the Quebec Act made it possible that future councils under future governors might contain an alert and powerful French-Canadian group. In this respect, however, it marked not so much an advance for French-Canadian liberty as a point behind which French-Canadian liberty could not be forced to retreat. To ascribe to the Quebec Act all the future extensions of the modicum of liberty it guaranteed, or to attribute to its chief architect the motives that inspired French-Canadian nationalists of later generations, is to endow the Act with far greater significance than it possessed. All the same, to call it the *Magna Carta* of French-Canadian liberties is to draw an unintentionally accurate parallel.<sup>44</sup> Just as the later development of democracy in Britain has tended to magnify the terms of *Magna Carta* and to endue Stephen Langton and the thirteenth-century barons with motives they never dreamed of, so the development of nationalism in French Canada has distorted the Quebec Act, and has made of Guy Carleton an enlightened emancipator rather than a superb manipulator of colonial politics.

<sup>44</sup>Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec*, 200.

## THE MAINE PRESS AND THE AROOSTOOK WAR

DAVID LOWENTHAL

Of all the controversies which illuminated the relations of the United States and Great Britain in the years between the Revolutionary and Civil wars, few were so long lasting, so bitterly contested, or so futile as the question of the northeastern boundary of the United States. The problem of the possession of some 12,000 square miles of land in the wilderness of Maine and New Brunswick endured for sixty years, occupied four treaties and a score of commissions, and almost caused a war. The original cause of the dispute seems to have arisen from general British dissatisfaction with the terms of the treaty of 1783; however, as time went on and the population on both sides of the boundary began to penetrate further into the forests bordering the St. John River, the question came to assume an entirely new character. The War of 1812 settled nothing, but shortly thereafter British surveyors and engineers began to explore the country in question. They rediscovered a fact the inhabitants of Halifax and Saint John had known all along: that in the winter, when the St. Lawrence was ice-bound, the only practicable line of communication between the Maritime Provinces and Quebec ran through the disputed territory. With the advent of the railroad, the necessity of gaining undisputed sovereignty over this military lifeline became still more evident, for it was constantly brought to public attention by the indefatigable promoters of the Intercolonial Railway.

American sentiment on the subject also developed. When Maine became a state in 1820, Massachusetts relinquished all control over and half her interest in the unpreempted northern lands. Maine, more interested in development than in revenue, liberalized the land-disposal laws, and the activity of settlers began to replace the lethargy of speculators in Aroostook, near the border. Minor clashes involving timber trespassers from both sides of the line soon involved other settlers as well. As a result of one of these affrays, in 1827, the United States established a fort and a regiment at Houlton and started to build a military road to that place. This brought money into the area. So did the reports of state and provincial geologists, who purported to find agricultural lands of unparalleled

potentialities, hitherto unsuspected, along the St. John River in the middle of the disputed territory. Land prices multiplied tenfold, and thousands rushed for the new bonanza in Aroostook. Even the sudden failure of the boom in 1836 did not serve to reduce border tension; on the contrary, the uncertainty of the boundary and the machinations of the British Government were blamed for the collapse.

State pride now became involved, and political campaigners found it increasingly expedient to declare themselves in favour of taking over the disputed territory and running the boundary line, British army or no. They were egged on by the press of both parties, which magnified every border squabble until it appeared an international affront and demanded instant redress from Washington—or at least from Augusta, since it was generally believed that Jackson and Van Buren would not hesitate to sell Maine out.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that each new incident on the lawless and unprotected frontier seemed more and more serious in Maine. Finally, an event occurred in 1839 which the press had taught the people they must not tolerate. New Brunswick arrested a Maine official! The parties and their organs gave furious battle, the state prepared to follow. The wonder of it was that, when the smoke of the Aroostook War cleared away, all the editors and politicians were still alive and well.<sup>2</sup>

## I

The Whigs, defeated in the 1838 elections, must be credited with the order which provoked the Aroostook War, though their opponents carried it out. The Maine Legislature authorized George D. Buckmore, on December 14, 1838, "to proceed to the Aroostook River and see to it that no trespassing is committed on the Townships belonging to Maine and Massachusetts on the river during the winter." Whether trespassing had suddenly increased is not quite clear. But the state was beginning to take more notice of it. John

<sup>1</sup>In 1832 the Maine Legislature had secretly agreed to cede to the United States Government all the land between the St. John and St. Lawrence rivers, in return for territory of equal value in Michigan. The purpose of this was to give the government a free hand in dealing with England on the boundary question, but the "Jackson Sale" was never ratified. It was widely believed in Maine that Jackson intended to sell the territory directly to Britain.

<sup>2</sup>The most complete discussions of the history of the entire controversy are Henry S. Burrage, *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy* (Portland, 1919) and David Lowenthal, *Northeastern Boundary: The Rise and Decline of a Frontier Dispute* (MS thesis, Harvard Library, 1943).

Fairfield, the new Democratic Governor, told the Legislature on January 23 that Buckmore had found 250 trespassers, with almost 50 yoke of oxen, on the Grand, Fish, and Little Madawaska rivers and at Aroostook Falls. He predicted that \$100,000 worth of timber would be stolen that winter and recommended vigorous proceedings against the intruders.<sup>3</sup>

Fairfield's message decided the Legislature that strong action must be taken. A civil posse under the direction of the new Democratic land-agent, Rufus McIntyre, accompanied by Hastings Strickland, sheriff of Penobscot County, and Captain Stover Rines of the state militia, was immediately sent up to the Aroostook to expel the interlopers from the disputed territory.<sup>4</sup> The *Boston Advertiser*, somehow getting wind of this "secret," announced that the purpose of the expedition was to drive off trespassers "*whether from one side of the line or the other.*"<sup>5</sup> The *Bangor Whig*, despite its political affiliation, was "wholly in favor of the object of this expedition" but regretted that the leaders were so poor—that is, that they were Democrats—"brawling and noisy politicians . . . weak, inefficient men, who will only disgrace the expedition."<sup>6</sup> McIntyre, after all, was almost seventy, a doddering old man, not a fit leader for such a strenuous excursion.

The expedition left Bangor the first week in February, 1839, and on the night of February 11 had reached the Little Madawaska River, without having met any of the trespassers, although it had heard disquieting stories of bodies of armed men ready to fight. The posse struck camp, but McIntyre, exhausted by the arduous journey, accepted the invitation of one of the settlers to sleep in his house. During the night the place was surrounded by "trespassers," who captured McIntyre the following morning and carted him on a sled to Fredericton, where he was privileged to occupy the already notorious jail.<sup>7</sup> Strickland, as soon as he learned of this mischance, left the posse and went back to Augusta to tell the Governor what had happened.

On February 15 and 18 Fairfield revealed the story of the capture and told a joint session of the Senate and House that he

<sup>3</sup>*Resolves of the Nineteenth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, 1839), 148-9.   <sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, Feb. 8, 1839.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>It was the same "British prison house" in which "General" John Baker had languished for stopping the Quebec mails in 1827 and in which the officers of the newly constituted "American" town of Madawaska had been thrown in 1831. See *Somerset Journal*, Nov. 2, 1831.

had sent up a reinforcement of three to five hundred men. The Governor asked for 10,000 militia, "who will hold themselves in instant readiness to march to the frontier. There was," he said, "no palliating circumstance for this outrage," no possible apology for New Brunswick. Though Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of the province, had denied that the "trespassers" were acting under his orders, there was no doubt that they had been.<sup>8</sup> Fairfield's request was immediately put into the form of a resolution and passed unanimously. The Legislature also authorized the expenditure of \$800,000 for the maintenance of the military force and sent a letter to Massachusetts demanding the co-operation of the Commonwealth in the crisis.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile Harvey too had issued a proclamation, calling the action of the Maine civil posse an "invasion," and asking for enlistments in the provincial forces.<sup>10</sup> The Aroostook War had begun.

Just as in 1827 and 1831, when New Brunswick had made similar captures, the papers were at first stunned, then enraged. "How much longer," asked the *Augusta Journal*, "will the people of Maine submit to such indignities?"<sup>11</sup> The Portland *Eastern Argus* was confident that thousands would be glad of a chance to defend their homes and families against the British,<sup>12</sup> while the *Augusta Age* asserted: "Maine will not falter until her rights are established, and her jurisdiction extended to the utmost limits of her territory. And may God defend the right!"<sup>13</sup> Even Whig journals such as the *Portland Advertiser* and the *Bangor Whig* were quick to come to the defence of Maine's rights. "Our State has been for the third time invaded," cried the *Whig*, "and our citizens carried away and incarcerated in a FOREIGN JAIL! We now appeal to arms. . . . Be the issue what it may, upon this question the whole State is united to a man."<sup>14</sup> The *Portland Gazette* and the *Portland Advertiser* assured the *Eastern Argus*, which had doubted Whig loyalty, that there was no party feeling involved, and that they would support all of Fairfield's measures against the British.<sup>15</sup>

The Whigs did make some political capital out of the situation. They accused McIntyre of having deceived his posse in order to sleep in a feather bed, roundly criticized all his aides, and

<sup>8</sup>*Maine Resolves*, 1839, 151-4.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 22, 1839, 42-3.

<sup>10</sup>*Portland Advertiser*, Feb. 19, 1839.

<sup>11</sup>Feb. 16, 1839, quoted in *Boston Columbian Sentinel*, Feb. 20, 1839.

<sup>12</sup>*Portland Eastern Argus*, Feb. 18, 1839.

<sup>13</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>Feb. 19, 1839, quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, Feb. 22, 1839.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

demanded new, young, effective, and necessarily Whig leadership in future campaigns. Whig papers made a laughing-stock of the men involved in the capture:

Run, Strickland, run!  
Fire, Stover, fire!  
Were the last words of McIntyre.

This drew a bitter reply from the editors of the *Eastern Argus*, who "deem it a duty to hold up to public scorn those prints, which, like the *Bangor Whig* and *Portland Gazette*, are shameful enough to ridicule the proceedings of their own government, and exult over the seizure of its citizens."<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile the war was proceeding in earnest, and Maine's troops shortly captured New Brunswick's land-agent, who was brought to Bangor and lodged in the best hotel in town. The *Bangor Whig* bewailed such a generous policy, contrasting it with the way in which McIntyre had been dragged to Fredericton and thrown into jail. "Should not such treatment cause the blood of every American to boil with indignation?"<sup>17</sup>

Great excitement prevailed in Augusta, in Houlton, and in Bangor, where the troops were being assembled. Many of the Boston, as well as the Maine, papers dispatched special correspondents to Bangor. One reported on February 25: ". . . a great stir and bustle. The foundries are still at work casting balls . . . men are busy in manufacturing cartridges,—teams are constantly arriving and departing with arms,—stores and munitions of war, load after load, are passing every hour for the scene of operations. All kinds of produce from the country meet a quick sale and a high price. . . ."<sup>18</sup> And a week later he described the scene: "The appearance of our city has been more warlike today than ever. The Kennebeck detachment was all supplied with new arms. . . . They have been showing themselves off in fine military style. The pomp and circumstance of glorious war has been enacted in every street. . . . Every soldier moves with a firmer air—and a more determined tread."<sup>19</sup> Militia paraded in bright new uniforms; there was daily drill and target practice; legislators made bold and noble speeches; all in all, Maine was enjoying a Roman holiday. A nascent literary talent revealed itself in verses which sped the gallant soldiers off to the battle:

<sup>16</sup>Feb. 18, 1839.

<sup>17</sup>Feb. 19, 1839, quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, Feb. 22, 1839.

<sup>18</sup>Bangor correspondent, *Portland Advertiser*, March 1, 1839.

<sup>19</sup>Letter of March 5, 1839, in *ibid.*, March 8, 1839.

*Maine Battle Song*

We'll lick the red coats anyhow,  
And drive them from our border;  
The loggers are awake—and all  
Await the Gin'r'l's order;  
Brittania shall not rule the Maine,  
Nor shall she rule the water;  
They've sung that song full long enough,  
Much longer than they oughter.

The Aroostook's right slick stream,  
Has natural sights of woodland,  
And hang the feller that would lose  
His footing on such good lands.  
And all along the boundary line  
There's pasturing for cattle;  
But where that line of boundary is,  
We must decide by battle.<sup>20</sup>

The poetic merits of this gem are perhaps surpassed by the *Soldier's Song*:

We are marching on to Madawask,  
To fight the trespassers;  
We'll teach the British how to walk—  
And come off conquerers.

We'll have our land right good and clear,  
For all the English say;  
They shall not cut another log,  
Nor stay another day.

They better march and stay at home,  
And mind their business there;  
The way we treated them before,  
Made all the nations stare.

We'll feed them well with ball and shot,  
We'll cut these Red-coats down,  
Before we yield to them an inch  
Or title of our ground.

Onward! my lads so brave and true  
Our Country's right demands  
With justice, and with glory fight,  
For these Aroostook lands.<sup>21</sup>

These lyrics, written by journalists in the excitement of the moment, bear out the truth of the theory that an army engaged in a great

<sup>20</sup>From Maine newspapers, quoted in John Francis Sprague, *The North Eastern Boundary Controversy and the Aroostook War* (Dover, Maine, 1910), 110-11.

<sup>21</sup>Bangor Whig, Feb. 21, 1839.

cause will have a great song. New Brunswick was equally fertile in the auxiliary arts of war. The *Woodstock Times* was confident New Brunswick would beat the starving Maine brigades, whose only rations would be "dragged out of the granaries of the farmers":

March! march! march! in good order,  
Kennebec has got over the border,  
With Penobscot too,  
And all of the curst crew,  
In that highly famed land of disorder. . . .

March! march! march! in good order,  
To meet Kennebec over the border,—  
With the bayonet and cheer,  
We'll soon make them stand clear,  
And soon, very soon, run home in disorder.<sup>22</sup>

It is hard to estimate the spirit with which the Maine militia went forth to battle. Tradition would tell of the patriotism and devotion of those brave men, "who, at the call of the State, left home and loved ones and marched into the northern wilderness, in the dead of winter, to where they were almost sure to meet a foe who would greatly outnumber them. . . ."<sup>23</sup> The spirit of '76 was abroad, at least as far as the papers were concerned. The following description of Cherryfield might have applied equally well to most of the towns in Maine: "Our quiet little village possesses at present all the 'pomp and circumstance of war.' Now, 'there is marching in hot haste, and hurrying to and fro,' swords that have been quietly rusting in their scabbards since the time of the Revolution, and muskets that have never known gun-powder since the fall of a certain redoubtable hero in the 'last war,' are called into requisition. . . . The general sentiment is to resist even unto blood."<sup>24</sup> If the army were only half as brave as the people, surely Maine must win a glorious victory! The press had nothing but praise for the green militia, perhaps hoping to instil some of its own courage in the troops. "Soldiers like these can never be conquered," declared the Augusta correspondent of the *Portland Advertiser*. "They may be overcome by superior numbers, but their brave spirits never would quail, and never could be broken."<sup>25</sup> Governor Fairfield himself gave

<sup>22</sup> *Woodstock* (N.B.) *Times*, March 9, 1839, quoted in *Portland Eastern Argus*, March 18, 1839.

<sup>23</sup> C. H. Ellis, *History of Fort Fairfield and Biographical Sketches* (Fort Fairfield, Maine, 1894), 59.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Cherryfield to a member of the Maine House, Feb. 26, 1839, quoted in *Augusta Journal*, March 4, 1839.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Augusta, March 7, 1839, in *Portland Advertiser*, March 11, 1839.

frequent pep talks to the troops in Augusta. "The time has come," he told them, "when we must make a vigorous and manly defense of our soil, or ignobly permit it to be wrested from us by a foreign power. At such an alternative can a free man hesitate? No!—is the responsive and simultaneous shout of this whole people."<sup>26</sup> The men were alternately feted and drilled, cheered and taught how to carry arms. The papers remarked with great delight on how ready the men were to join up. "The alacrity with which the militia have obeyed the orders of the Commander-in-Chief is worthy of all praise," exulted the *Eastern Argus*. "They have manifested no disposition to skulk from duty—no desire to escape service. In many places, indeed, there has been a competition for places in the ranks."<sup>27</sup>

For the most part the men were not volunteers; if they had been, there would have been no need to keep up their morale with such a vast amount of publicity. On the whole, though, they responded fairly well. Governor Fairfield, while perhaps not an impartial observer, testified to their willingness: "We experience no difficulty in procuring men to go on this service against the trespassers," he wrote his wife. "On the contrary, it is hard work to keep them back."<sup>28</sup> Still, there were some who were not too enthusiastic about going off to war. A Reverend Caleb Bradley, upon receiving his orders, recorded his sentiments in his diary:

March 2. This is a day of water, snow and mud, noise, excitement, and engendering bad feelings of the human heart. Have received orders to appear next Monday in Portland, and be ready to march whenever the authorities may order. O, what madness! . . . Has it come to this—must we be sacrificed to gratify the wicked ambition of unfeeling demagogues who happen to be in authority. . . . Both our political authorities are mad—and worse. It seems as though they had combined to ruin our country. I detest them! I abhor their doings in this respect! O, contemptible, contemptible, disgraceful, horrible, abominable!<sup>29</sup>

But for the most part the men felt otherwise, and were rapidly trained. As early as February 21 the Governor was able to report that "the troops are in excellent spirits and anxious to march for the Aroostook."<sup>30</sup> And a week later they were off, perhaps not

<sup>26</sup>Portland *Eastern Argus*, March 1, 1839; *Portland Advertiser*, March 1, 1839.  
<sup>27</sup>Feb. 27, 1839.

<sup>28</sup>Fairfield to Anna Fairfield, Augusta, Feb. 16, 1839, *The Letters of John Fairfield*, Arthur G. Staples, ed. (Lewiston, Maine, 1922), 266.

<sup>29</sup>Leonard B. Chapman, "Reverend Caleb Bradley on the Madawaska War," Maine Historical Society, *Collections and Proceedings*, 2nd Series, IX, 1898, 422.

<sup>30</sup>*Maine Resolves*, 1839, Feb. 21, 1839, 156; Fairfield to Anna Fairfield, *Letters*, 269.

thinking too much of the motto coined by the *Belfast Republican*: "Maine and her soil, or BLOOD!"<sup>31</sup> Their last stop was at Houlton, where there was reported to have been "no intemperance, no profanity, no rioting among them. Yesterday, they attended public worship, and were addressed by their chaplain, Rev. Mr. Lovejoy. . . ."<sup>32</sup>

Now Maine felt that the crisis had come. "God grant," prayed the *Bangor Merchant and Farmer*, "that no pacific may retard us."<sup>33</sup> There was sure to be war. British troops were reported to be massing in large numbers at Madawaska and on the Aroostook;<sup>34</sup> there was supposed to be a regiment of 800 fusiliers in Saint John direct from Cork, in addition to eight cannon from Fredericton.<sup>35</sup> The British were there, but exactly where, no one knew. The Maine militiamen moved cautiously through the woods, momentarily expecting an attack. Meanwhile the British troops were waiting in Madawaska and on the other side of the St. John—waiting for an American attack. The second phase of this strenuous campaign began with each side staunchly defending the territory on which it stood, awaiting an enemy assault. The only incident that occurred to enliven the monotony was a brawl in a barroom in Houlton, where American and British soldiers were drinking together like old comrades until some hothead inadvertently proposed a toast of "Success to Maine!" which resulted in several bloody noses and a broken arm. All the participants were jailed, and nothing further happened to mar the good relations of the opponents.<sup>36</sup>

While the Maine regiments encountered no battles, they found affairs in Aroostook very discouraging. Most of the settlers, when the troops arrived, were busily engaged in lumbering, and showed no signs of having been annoyed by the British. This seemed surprising, but it is easily explained by the fact that most of them were British, as the militia discovered to their sorrow. At Fort Fairfield, for example, the inhabitants were all New Brunswickers, who were definitely hostile to the Maine soldiers because the militia tried to prevent them from logging. When the soldiers placed a boom across the Aroostook to catch the trespass timber the settlers simply

<sup>31</sup>Quoted in *Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*, Feb. 25, 1839.

<sup>32</sup>Letter from Houlton correspondent, March 4, 1839, *Boston Courier*, March 9, 1839.

<sup>33</sup>Quoted in *Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*, Feb. 25, 1839.

<sup>34</sup>Bangor correspondent, Feb. 24, March 1, in *Portland Advertiser*, March 1, March 11, 1839.

<sup>35</sup>*Bangor Whig*, March 1, 1839.

<sup>36</sup>Houlton correspondent, March 3, 1839, *Boston Weekly Messenger*, March 9, 1839.

evaded it. Needless to say, they did not regard themselves as trespassers, for they had British land patents.

In fact, the Maine military force found itself seriously embarrassed by the settlers, for while it was depriving them of their livelihood it was not allowed to drive them from their homes. Moreover, the settlers' presence was a constant menace, since they were likely to inform the British about American manoeuvres.<sup>37</sup> Aside from the construction of a strong timber boom and a few blockhouses at Fort Fairfield, the Maine army accomplished nothing at all.

Back in the south the citizens of Maine were still convinced that war was imminent, although it soon became evident that hostilities were not going to begin immediately. The problems that now concerned the state were gaining the attention of other states and of the federal Government.

## II

Maine did not lack for moral support from other sections of the country. The people were "unanimous," reported the *Eastern Argus*, in acknowledging "the justice of our cause."<sup>38</sup> The *Portland Advertiser* was overjoyed at the way in which the news of the war was being received. "Every other subject is looked upon with comparative unimportance, and the first inquiry is what is the news from Maine. In some of the cities and larger towns west and southwest, the news is read at the corners of the streets and at the post-office."<sup>39</sup> It was popular to be warlike; the *New York Gazette* estimated that "nine-tenths of the democracy of numbers would go for a war—a general war. . . . To belong to, or have any sympathy with, the 'Peace Party,' will ruin a man unto his third or fourth generation."<sup>40</sup> In Boston whiskers were curling, and mustachios growing, because "those who are deficient in these hairy appendages cannot with a good grace shout war! WAR! WAR!"<sup>41</sup>

In agreement with the obvious sentiment of the electorate, the legislatures of Maryland, Alabama, Virginia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana expressed their accordancce with Maine's actions and unanimously resolved to pledge their

<sup>37</sup>Ellis, *History of Fort Fairfield*, 29-33.

<sup>38</sup>March 20, 1839.

<sup>39</sup>March 11, 1839.

<sup>40</sup>Quoted in *Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*, March 4, 1839.

<sup>41</sup>*Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*, March 5, 1839.

support in case of war.<sup>42</sup> The Brigadier General of the Invincible Dragoons of the Illinois militia was ready to fight right away, and Governor Fairfield was assured by a New Yorker that "every State in the Union will pour forth her troops to sustain your just war. . . ."<sup>43</sup>

But not all the press, even in the North, was pro-war. The Whig journals of Boston and New York considered Governor Fairfield a hot-headed fanatic who was rushing the country into war. Commercial interests deprecated his policy. They were anxious to avoid war at any cost. War fever alone was bad enough. The New York market had fallen by several points in the first week of excitement, and it was feared that a large amount of British investments might be withdrawn. "How like idiots or madmen people will act in the middle of a war excitement!" exclaimed the *Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*. "What good will this mad movement do the state of Maine?" Why, indeed, should the rest of the country support her? "Just as if we had lost our senses like herself, and would rush blindfold into a war with England, for the assertion of our claims to lands not worth a tithe of what the war would cost us!"<sup>44</sup> The *New York Commercial Advertiser* pointed out that the war would cost \$5,000 a day,<sup>45</sup> while the *National Gazette* built up an impressive list of reasons why the country should not fight England: a war would kill thousands, destroy millions of dollars worth of property, turn ten thousand labourers into unproductive soldiers, destroy industry and commerce; it would legalize robbery, bring on privateering, demoralize the people as a result of the intemperance of camp life, increase the debt, put a stop to specie payments

<sup>42</sup>*Portland Advertiser*, March 1, 26, 1839; *Portland Eastern Argus*, March 1, 29, 1839; Israel A. Washburn, "The North-eastern Boundary," *Maine Historical Society, Collections*, VIII, 1881, 81. Massachusetts was cautious, Governor Everett scotching plans to aid Maine. (*Boston Atlas*, quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, March 1, 1839; Thomas LeDuc, "The Maine Boundary and the Northeastern Boundary Controversy," *American Historical Review*, LIII, 1947, 35-6.) An opponent of Everett demanded angrily of his fellows:

"Ye Yankees of the Bay State,  
With whom no dastards mix!  
Shall Everett dare to stifle  
The fire of seventy-six? . . ."

<sup>43</sup>J. C. Bennett to Governor Fairfield, Fairfield, *Letters*, 253; S. T. Carr to Fairfield, *ibid.*, 253.

<sup>44</sup>"Numa," "The War Fever in Maine," *Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*, Feb. 22, 1839.

<sup>45</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*

and cause inflation, increase speculation and bring about a reaction, depress cotton and tobacco prices, raise the price of animal foods and provisions (for Army use), blockade the harbours, depreciate American securities in foreign markets, diminish existing capital, and, by artificially raising prices, ruin manufacturers with the return of peace, or, with a protective tariff, ruin the South.<sup>46</sup>

The peace party tried to demonstrate that Maine's sending of a civil posse to oust British trespassers had been illegal, for Britain and the United States had agreed that neither country should attempt to extend its jurisdiction in the disputed territory while title to the land remained unsettled. The *Boston Patriot* was convinced that "the invasion . . . was a direct violation of the understanding recognized throughout almost the whole correspondence between the two governments. . . . It must be disavowed by the Government of the United States."<sup>47</sup> On the other side, the *Boston Courier* charged: "If any such agreement exists between the two governments, it is one of the secrets which the Tory government, or its immediate predecessors has kept from our people."<sup>48</sup> The Maine papers declared the purported agreement was a fiction. The Portland *Eastern Argus* regretted "to see the English version of the matter so readily seized upon by some of our leading editors. . . . We shall not relinquish the rightful jurisdiction of our domain."<sup>49</sup> There was no doubt that Maine's title to the territory was valid, "and yet we are censured for manifesting a disposition to defend it!" The federal Government must be convinced of the justice of Maine's position: "Our executive is blamed by a portion of the federal press in other states, for his energetic measures toward resisting an invasion! What would these fault-finders have us do?—negotiate? We are sick—utterly and completely sick—of hearing the word. . . . Britain *needs* our territory and she is determined, if possible, to *have* it. . . . The General Government *must* sustain Maine. It has guaranteed to her the possession of her territory, and it *must* perform the guarantee."<sup>50</sup> In Washington, everyone but the President had made up his mind:

The excitement which prevails in this city is of the most extraordinary character. It seems to be a unanimous throb of determination, among all parties and all classes, to support the claims of the United States . . . at every and all hazards. The opposition seems more determined to resist the pre-

<sup>46</sup>Quoted in *Boston Patriot*, March 15, 1839.

<sup>47</sup>Feb. 23, 1839. See also *Boston Daily Advertiser*, quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, March 1, 3, 1839.

<sup>48</sup>Feb. 23, 1839.

<sup>49</sup>Feb. 27, 1839.

<sup>50</sup>March 2, 1839.

tensions of Great Britain than even the Administration. Webster [was] thrilling and eloquent. . . . This topic now absorbs every other subject . . . at the *sotrees* in the hotels, along the avenues, in the lobbies, nothing is heard but questions and conversation on Maine. Even among the pretty women there is a strong warlike disposition. The naval and military officers here are also fierce for war. . . . Will there be war? The general impression is, among moderate men, that England will compromise the question by an exchange of territory. Yet other opinions are entertained. . . .<sup>51</sup>

Only cautious, skeptical Van Buren did not know what to do. The problem was a political one. A New Englander put it succinctly: "Van will mortally hate to go to war; and he will also be very reluctant to lose the vote of Maine. If he throws cold water upon us, and treats the subject coolly, and in his non-committal style, he may bid farewell to the votes of Maine forever."<sup>52</sup> Against national prestige and Maine's votes he had to balance Southern fear of Northern expansion and the effect of the threat of war on the cotton market.<sup>53</sup>

In a message to Congress on February 26, Van Buren admitted the rights of Maine, but exhorted that state not to appeal to arms; peace was the best policy. He criticized Fairfield for attempting to oust the trespassers alone; New Brunswick should have been warned and invited to help clear the land.<sup>54</sup> The following day the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported unanimously that it could find no trace of an agreement giving New Brunswick exclusive jurisdiction over the territory, and that there was, on the contrary, a clear understanding which guaranteed the *status quo*. The committee concluded that Maine had not violated the agreement by sending out a land-agent to drive out trespassers, and resolved that, if New Brunswick tried to take exclusive possession by a military force, it would be the duty of the President to repel the invasion. On the other hand, if New Brunswick did *not* attempt to enforce exclusive jurisdiction, and Maine refused to withdraw her troops, that state should receive no military aid. The committee suggested that Maine's honour should by now have been satisfied with her show of force and proposed that both Maine and New Brunswick withdraw their troops.<sup>55</sup> Secretary of State Forsyth and Fox, the British Minister, quickly agreed to this conciliatory pro-

<sup>51</sup> *New York Herald*, quoted in *Boston Columbian Centinel*, March 6, 1839.

<sup>52</sup> Augusta correspondent, March 2, 1839, *Boston Weekly Messenger*, March 6, 1839.

<sup>53</sup> See LeDuc, "Maine Boundary," 35.

<sup>54</sup> 25 Cong. 3 Sess. (1838-9), Sen. Ex. Doc. 270, 1-4.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 272, 1-2.

posal, and recommended that the prisoners taken on both sides be released.<sup>56</sup>

The President's message was received by both branches of Congress "without the utterance of a dissenting opinion" and was praised by the *Washington Globe*, the *National Intelligencer*, the *Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*, and the *New York Commercial Advertiser*.<sup>57</sup> But the course of the general Government was "anything but acceptable to the people of Maine";<sup>58</sup> there was a "universal feeling of disapprobation";<sup>59</sup> the message and the proposed agreement were branded as cowardly.<sup>60</sup> The *Kennebec Journal* was mild, only accusing the President of "a great want of decision";<sup>61</sup> the *Bangor Whig* called the message "a most extraordinary document." "We had hoped—nay, expected—that the position which Maine had assumed would have been nobly upheld and supported at all hazards, by the President.—We were not at all prepared for this cool request for the withdrawal of our troops from our rightful territory at this time. . . ."<sup>62</sup> If the proposal corresponded well with the views of the country in general, as the *Boston Columbian Centinel* believed,<sup>63</sup> Maine was decidedly against it. The *Boston Courier* expressed the feeling of that state very well:

If we understand the "protocol", it is a virtual admission on the part of our administration, that the Government of New Brunswick is to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the disputed territory, until the question shall be settled by negotiation, which to use a vulgar phrase, will probably be the day after eternity. . . . What is this, but commanding Maine to give up the territory in question, to the entire control and possession of her arrogant and avaricious neighbor? Maine ought not to withdraw her armed force, and if the Union will not sustain her rights, she will be justified by patriotism, equity, and common sense, in sustaining them herself. . . . If the Administration choose . . . to play the servile coward to Great Britain, let her take the question into her own hands; she will at least have the good wishes of a majority of the people, . . . and she will finally come off victorious, unless like a "lily-livered dolt" she submits to be cajoled and cheated by further negotiation.<sup>64</sup>

And Maine did propose to take the question into her own hands. The *Bangor Whig* trusted that, despite the President, Governor Fairfield would maintain his strong position;<sup>65</sup> the *Kennebec Journal*

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 271, 7-8.

<sup>57</sup>*Congressional Globe*, Feb. 26, 1839; *Portland Eastern Argus*, March 4, 1839.

<sup>58</sup>*Boston Columbian Centinel*, March 9, 1839.

<sup>59</sup>*Boston Patriot*, March 9, 1839.

<sup>60</sup>*Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics*, March 9, 1839.

<sup>61</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup>Quoted in *Boston Columbian Centinel*, March 9, 1839.

<sup>63</sup>March 2, 1839.      <sup>64</sup>March 4, 1839.

<sup>65</sup>Quoted in *Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics*, March 9, 1839.

hoped that Fairfield would not withdraw the troops;<sup>66</sup> the *Bangor Whig* felt that, with an invasion imminent, Van Buren's suggestion "should not, and we risk little in asserting, will not be followed by Maine."<sup>67</sup> The *Augusta Age* did not like the President's "intimation that we ought to act in concert with New Brunswick in expelling thieves and plunderers from our domain," and felt that an appeal to arms would not be a bad idea at all.<sup>68</sup>

Only the *Portland Courier* (Whig) was cavalier enough to suggest that Maine comply with the agreement (else she would lose the sympathy and support of the rest of the nation), withdraw her troops, and co-operate with New Brunswick;<sup>69</sup> the rest of the state defied Van Buren and prepared to go on with the fight.<sup>70</sup> The Bangor correspondent for the *Boston Courier* described the burning of the President in effigy "in one of the strongest Loco towns in this county,"<sup>71</sup> and the Bangor *Democrat*, reviling both Forsyth and Van Buren, claimed that Maine was still a sovereign state and that the federal Government could not deprive her of her lands. "We like the olive branch of peace better than the grim visage of war, but neither the inviting aspect of the one nor the terrors of the other should betray us into dishonor."<sup>72</sup>

While Maine's headstrong course terrified financial circles and evoked much bitter criticism, the *Boston Patriot* calling it "an experimental lesson in the science of nullification,"<sup>73</sup> it was heralded in other quarters outside the state as a revival of the revolutionary spirit and a patriotic struggle against oppression: "Governor Fairfield has it in his power to become second only to Moses and Washington. . . . In six months, he may with ease overrun the whole of Canada, and in six months more organize it as a Republican Government, and become himself its President, or divide it into three or four Republican States, and join our Federal Union. All this he can do in twelve or twenty-four months at the furthest, if he is the man we take him to be. . . . One false step—one timid, wavering movement—and all is lost to him forever! Let him disdain the hissing of GEESE, the hooting of OWLS, and the croaking of

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>Quoted in *Boston Evening Gazette*, March 2, 1839.

<sup>68</sup>Quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, March 8, 1839.

<sup>69</sup>March 1, 1839, quoted in *Boston Evening Mercantile Journal*, March 8, 1839.

<sup>70</sup>*Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics*, March 9, 1839; *Boston Columbian Centinel*, March 2, 1839; *Boston Evening Gazette*, March 29, 1839; *Boston Patriot*, March 9, 1839.

<sup>71</sup>March 11, 1839. The story was denied by the *Bangor Democrat*, March 20, 1839.

<sup>72</sup>March 20, 1839.

<sup>73</sup>March 16, 1839.

CRAVENS—and soar on the wings of the EAGLE TO A GLORIOUS SUMMIT.”<sup>74</sup>

But Fairfield was far from being a fool. If Van Buren's position had been a difficult one, Fairfield's was still harder. He found himself early in March a very popular Governor, leader of both the Whigs and Democrats of the state, potential commander-in-chief of an invasion force. His firm stand on the issue had given him the unqualified support of the Legislature, and it was in his power, if he chose, to send 10,000 or 40,000 men across the border at a moment's notice. John Fairfield was not a warlike man, and knew how ridiculous it was to suppose that Maine could fight England single-handed. At the same time he was no pacifist. “Although it is wicked to fight under most circumstances,” he wrote to his son, “it is not wicked, in my opinion, to fight for the defense of our country.”<sup>75</sup> By March, however, he realized that the time for fighting was past. Nevertheless it was only by the most consummate skill that he was able to prevent it. Had he shown the slightest disposition to back out, the Legislature would have taken the matter out of his hands and precipitated an immediate conflict. Fairfield had to pretend to be belligerent, yet do nothing rash, and wait until the dispute should die down of its own accord. Had he followed any other course, he would only have been committing political suicide.

For the party situation in Maine, so simple on the surface, was in reality very involved. The Whigs had offered to bury the hatchet, to act the part of true patriots—at least with regard to the boundary question. So it appeared to the *Montreal Aurora*, which was unable to understand why “Whigs and Democrats, so opposed on almost all other questions, think alike upon this, and demand war with equal enthusiasm.”<sup>76</sup> The *Kennebec Journal*, a Whig paper, came out in support of Governor Fairfield—and war. “There is no good reason why we should avoid a collision,” said the *Journal*. “We have avoided it too much and too long already.”<sup>77</sup> The Boston papers were surprised at the unanimity of feeling. “Both of the political parties unite hand and heart on the subject, and seem to vie with each other to sustain their executive.”<sup>78</sup> The editor of the

<sup>74</sup>Southwick's *Family Paper* (Boston), March 17, 1839, quoted in *Non-Resistant* (Boston), April 6, 1839.

<sup>75</sup>John Fairfield to Walter Fairfield, Augusta, Feb. 23, 1839, *Fairfield, Letters*, 267.

<sup>76</sup>Quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, March 26, 1839.

<sup>77</sup>Quoted in *Boston Courier*, Feb. 25, 1839.

<sup>78</sup>*Boston Columbian Sentinel*, Feb. 27, 1839.

Portland *Eastern Argus*, a Democrat, surveyed the scene with great satisfaction: "Democrats, Whigs, Conservatives—all, with one voice and one heart respond to the noble and patriotic sentiments of Governor Fairfield's course."<sup>79</sup> Both parties condemned Van Buren, the Whigs accusing the Democrats of being pro-British Tories, and the Democrats reviling their own national leader. The President's message really aggravated the situation in Maine. The Democrats were forced to shout for war, for if they did not the Whigs would beat them; the Whigs pushed the Democrats as far as they could, hoping they would back down. Having in their zeal brought public opinion up to the point of war, the two parties found themselves far out on a limb. And neither dared be the first to climb down.

Such a situation would have dismayed a less skilful man than Fairfield; certainly the easiest and most popular way out would have been to start fighting. The Governor did not; but neither did he make the mistake of favouring the President's plan for reconciliation. Somehow he managed to do nothing, in a manner which appeared perfectly satisfactory. He delivered another message to the Legislature, which the *Eastern Argus* called "manly, sensible, straightforward."<sup>80</sup> Refusing to accept the proposition of the federal Government, Fairfield said that the state must be "fully satisfied" that New Brunswick had "abandoned all idea of occupying the disputed territory with a military force" before a single man could be withdrawn; but that Maine should not stoop to "unnecessarily provoking disturbances."<sup>81</sup> The Governor expressed his real views in a letter to his wife. He had, he wrote, advised the Legislature not to sign the Washington agreement, but he did not think there would be war. "On the contrary, I pointed out a mode in which the whole thing may be settled without difficulty, and I have but little doubt that it will be so adjusted. . . . We are endeavoring to enjoy ourselves here, notwithstanding the bellicose aspect of things. Hope soon to be able to beat the sword into the ploughshare and to go to work upon our humble farm."<sup>82</sup>

### III

Fairfield was enabled to restore peace largely through the services of General Winfield Scott, whom Van Buren had sent to Maine, along with his infamous proposal, in order to pacify the

<sup>79</sup>Feb. 27, 1839.      <sup>80</sup>March 15, 1839.  
<sup>81</sup>*Maine Resolves*, 1839, March 12, 1839, 157-65.  
<sup>82</sup>March 15, 1839, Fairfield, *Letters*, 271.

belligerents. Both the war-hawks and the pacifists anxiously awaited Scott's arrival on the boundary. His progress through New England was given the widest publicity, by each paper according to its views on the war. The *New York Gazette* believed that "it is not improbable that he [General Scott] will be employed to keep the peace, if he can do it, by arresting Governor Fairfield and his warriors,"<sup>83</sup> while the *Portland Advertiser* reported that great numbers were enlisting under the General for frontier service.<sup>84</sup> The auspices under which Scott left Washington were vaguely defined; Van Buren's only direction had been "Peace with honour."<sup>85</sup> Scott certainly did not go to Maine prepared to fight, for his entire army consisted of two officers.

Arriving in Portland, Scott found that "all being in favor of war, or the peaceful possession of the Aroostook . . . , all looked to him to conquer that possession at once, as they had become tired of diplomacy, parleys, and delays." Moving on to the state capital, "Scott found a bad temper prevailing at Augusta." He described the political situation as he found it: "The Whigs were much feared; for having recently been in power, the least error on the side of the Democrats, might again give them the State. The population all being for war, the Whigs were unwilling to abandon that hobby-horse entirely; but the Democrats were first in the saddle and rode furiously."<sup>86</sup>

Scott was sure that he had arrived not a moment too soon, and that the only hope "depended on his persuading the local belligerents to stand off the territory in question for a time." The General handled the situation with considerable success, sitting with the Governor and Council three times a day, "until by degrees he won their confidence." It was difficult to get either the Whigs or the Democrats to agree to any kind of a suspension of hostilities, but with Fairfield's aid and promises of Whig support "by degrees Scott won over to his views the dominant party." And the Whigs, too, finally gave in to the wiles of the "Great Pacifier" during the course of a dinner party at the home of Congressman George Evans.<sup>87</sup>

Although much of Scott's report doubtless elaborated his own part, the outcome was entirely satisfactory. On March 23, both Houses unanimously consented to Fairfield's proposal that if New Brunswick withdrew her troops Maine would do likewise. The

<sup>83</sup> Quoted in *Boston Patriot*, March 2, 1839.

<sup>84</sup> March 1, 1839.

<sup>85</sup> Winfield Scott, *Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, LLD., Written by Himself* (New York, 1864), II, 334.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 336-40.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 340-5.

Legislature agreed that the state would forbear to exercise jurisdiction over the "usurped" territory, if it were consistent with the Resolve of January 24, thereby saving the state's honour as well as the peace.<sup>88</sup> This left the way open for Scott to come to an agreement with his old friend Governor Harvey of New Brunswick, a matter easily accomplished. On March 25 Governor Fairfield "capitulated": "The undersigned, the Governor of Maine, in consideration of the foregoing [Harvey's guarantee to Scott] the exigency for calling out the troops of Maine, having ceased, has no hesitation in signifying his entire acquiescence in the proposal of Major-General Scott."<sup>89</sup> And the Aroostook War was over, as it really had been ever since the armies had decided to wait, instead of fight. There were casualties among the Maine forces. One soldier died of measles, and at Fort Fairfield a bullet fired from a musket to celebrate the peace ricocheted off a rock and killed Nathan Johnston, a farmer.<sup>90</sup> But on the whole the militia was healthy and happy, if cold, after six weeks' camping in the woods, and the troops, as they marched back from the Aroostook, jeered heartily at the garrison of United States regulars at Houlton, which had remained strictly neutral throughout.

The ending of hostilities and the terms of the agreement were considered perfectly satisfactory outside the state. In Maine, few of the Whig papers were enthusiastic, but they were badly hampered by the fact that in the Legislature the Whigs as well as the Democrats had sustained Fairfield and agreed to a settlement. The *Belfast Journal*, the *Gospel Banner*, and the *Kennebec Journal* all complained that the Governor had relinquished Maine's claim to the territory north of the St. John.<sup>91</sup> This the *Saco Democrat* denied, claiming that Fairfield and his agents could be relied upon to protect all of the state's interests and had in fact already apprehended some trespassers and seized their timber.<sup>92</sup> The *Eastern Argus* believed that "the termination of the difficulty" would be regarded as very fortunate for the state of Maine. "The arrangement will be considered as a peculiarly satisfactory one."<sup>93</sup> The immediate reaction to the settlement in Maine was on the whole favourable or non-committal, and opposition was momentarily embarrassed.

<sup>88</sup>*Maine Resolves*, 1839, 113-14.

<sup>89</sup>*Portland Eastern Argus*, March 27, 1839.

<sup>90</sup>*Ellis, History of Fort Fairfield*, 356.

<sup>91</sup>*Saco Democrat*, quoted in *Portland Eastern Argus*, April 7, 1839.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup>March 27, 1839.

But the Whigs were blessed with short memories. As the 1839 elections approached they began to attack the arrangement violently. Whig papers assailed Fairfield for backing out,<sup>94</sup> and the Kennebec County Whig Convention resolved that "marching the Kennebec troops to the Aroostook only to march them back again," and making them drill in Augusta mud at an unseasonable time of year, without result, showed in Governor Fairfield "either a want of common discretion, or a total disregard of the sufferings of the soldiers and the welfare of the state."<sup>95</sup> As their opponents pointed out, the Whigs were too inconsistent; the people of Maine would not "sustain TERGIVERSATION SO GROSS, HYPOCRISY so MONSTROUS."<sup>96</sup> And, indeed, they re-elected Fairfield by a greater majority than he had received in 1838. In succeeding electoral campaigns the boundary issue played a smaller and smaller role, and the press and the state Government adopted an increasingly conciliatory attitude toward Britain.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which finally settled the north-eastern boundary in 1842, gave Maine far less than she had wrathfully spurned a decade before. Yet Maine's Treaty Commissioners reported that public opinion in the state was in favour of the treaty, that "the great mass of the people are well satisfied. . . ."<sup>97</sup> The Portland *Eastern Argus*, once the most belligerent of journals, considered it a "capital bargain."<sup>98</sup> There were some, to be sure, both in and out of the state, who attacked the treaty and wept for poor abandoned Maine. To these, Webster replied: ". . . the piteous tears shed for Maine, in this respect, are not her own tears, they are the crocodile tears of pretended friendship and party sentimentality. Lamentations and griefs have been uttered in this capitol about the losses and sacrifices of Maine, which nine-tenths of the people of Maine laugh at. Nine-tenths of her people, to this day, heartily approve the treaty."<sup>99</sup> Most of the belligerent senti-

<sup>94</sup> *Kennebec Journal*, quoted in *Portland Advertiser*, April 2, 1839; *Boston Courier*, quoted in *ibid.*, April 12, 1839; *Bath Telegraph*, quoted in *ibid.*, April 15, 1839.

<sup>95</sup> *Bangor Democrat*, Aug. 3, 1839.

<sup>96</sup> *Portland Eastern Argus*, Sept. 6, 1839.

<sup>97</sup> Edward Kent to Edward Kavanagh, Bangor, August 16, 1842, in William L. Lucey, "Some Correspondence of the Maine Boundary Commissioners Regarding the Webster-Ashburton Treaty," *New England Quarterly*, XV, 1942, 397.

<sup>98</sup> July 29, 1842.

<sup>99</sup> Daniel Webster, *Vindication of the Treaty of Washington of 1842, in a Speech Delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 6th and 7th of April, 1846* (Washington, 1846), 4-23.

ment on the subject had been manufactured by politicians and editors, who discarded it when they found it no longer effective as a political weapon.

#### IV

The Aroostook War resulted in no cession of territory, and no claims were abandoned; neither jurisdiction nor possession were settled at the time. Neither side won; neither side backed out; in fact, nothing at all happened. Yet few Canadian-United States boundary disputes have been so widely publicized, few have aroused much violent and bitter feeling, as the Aroostook War. Ten thousand Maine militia were on the border, and the New Brunswick forces were almost as great, though not one shot was fired.

What is there to account for the fact that war did not ensue? Chance, to a certain extent, played a part; it was chance that there was no accidental engagement, no unfortunate skirmish. But other factors were more important.

In the first place, colonization of the Aroostook was not so far advanced as the Maine press would have had readers believe. A short-sighted land distribution scheme had long held up the development of the country. For a quarter of a century, under Massachusetts, sales of large tracts to speculators and other absentee landlords had hindered settlement. Although the policy had been changed after 1820, the effects of the old system still proved detrimental. Lumber concerns and itinerant woodsmen had penetrated the wilderness, so that by the time Maine started to promote settlement in earnest it was almost too late; the Aroostook had been appropriated by loggers, and was occupied largely by transients interested only in skimming off the forest wealth. To be sure, the revelations of the geologists and the inducements of the state did encourage some farmers to move in, but not nearly as many as had been hoped. The incident which provoked the Aroostook War had nothing to do with the new settlers, but was, as has been seen, concerned with trespassing on timber lands. The fighting spirit which might have been aroused among the inhabitants if one of them had been involved was lacking. McIntyre, after all, was only an official, Maine's land agent. There was no direct blow at the settlers themselves. In short, there were settlers, but there were not very many of them. They may have been irritated, but they were not ready to fight.

The politicians and the newspapers, however, were ready to fight. Leaders of both parties were angry because they had to be. The Democrats had begun the matter and naturally advocated strong measures, while the Whigs could hardly back down from a position that they had decided to maintain in earlier years. Neither party was willing to adopt a more pacific policy which, if not already unpopular, would immediately be made anathema by the other.

The same argument holds for the newspapers. The press is generally more belligerent than the people, and in the attempt to awaken the public from the lethargy in which it frequently seems to be plunged, editors are apt at times to take a sharper tone than that which would be consistent with thoughtful policy. The papers followed the party lines as well as their own lines, and both led to war. Thus the press was a poor exemplar of public opinion. There was a good deal of real hostility to the British, but the newspapers greatly exaggerated it.

As for a final reason why neither war nor conquest resulted, due regard must be paid to the strength and character of the opponent which the United States encountered. In Florida, Texas, and California the Republic faced a weaker nation, an opponent which it could afford to fight without too much trouble. On the Maine frontier that was not the case. The people of New Brunswick were backed by British power, which was at least as strong as that of the United States, and they were just as much interested in the territory in dispute. Of these facts Martin Van Buren and John Fairfield were both very well aware.

## CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES: THE PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATING THE FAR WESTS INTO THE CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN FEDERATIONS

K. A. MACKIRDY

CONVERTING British colonists into Canadians or Australians has not been a simple or a speedy process. Since the development of national feeling in the new nations of the Commonwealth was the product of gradual evolution, without the violent upheaval which fostered nationalism in the old colonies of the First Empire, the emotional adjustment of the colonists concerned becomes evident only when surveyed over a fairly long period of time. The problem facing the typical Canadian or Australian colonist was that of adjusting the priority of his loyalties. At first the claims of the newly organized federation usually ran a poor third to those of the "Old Country"<sup>1</sup> and the individual colony. Gradually for growing numbers of the inhabitants of the federations the last became first, although for many of those residing in the old Province of Canada verbal confusion helped to disguise the conflicting claims of colony and country. The colony-versus-country conflict for the allegiance of individuals has played an important part in the persistence of sectional feeling in Canada and Australia, although it is a factor often neglected in favour of more material economic and geographic considerations. In an assessment of the relative importance of the various influences which retarded the development of a new nationalism among Western Australians and British Columbians, the emotional factor must be given a high rating.

It cannot be denied that a marked regional feeling has survived in the far wests of the two federations, although its intensity has diminished considerably since the period preceding the Second World War. Nor does one have to look far to find contributory causes for such regionalism: Both communities are geographically isolated from their federal partners, British Columbia by the Rockies

<sup>1</sup>To most English-speaking colonists this meant Great Britain, or in some cases the Empire, but the more localized loyalty of an Irish nationalist, or that of a non-British immigrant, presented similar problems. French Canadians, of course, provide a rather different case of loyalty primarily to their old "colony" conceived as a national homeland, and with Rome rather than continental France serving as the focal point of any external loyalty they might harbour.

and Western Australia by a less scenic but even more effective 1200-mile stretch of desert. Further consideration of the geographic factor produces variations on the theme. The settlers of Western Australia, the majority of whom are concentrated in the fertile extreme southwesterly section of their state, have developed, probably, in more complete isolation from their fellows than any comparable number of overseas Britons elsewhere. Fremantle was a port of call for ships plying between Australia and Europe, but it was not a terminus. Although a map of British Columbia's population density would reveal a concentration in the southwest similar to that of Western Australia, its inhabitants do not experience the same isolation. The geographic barrier separating the Pacific coast from the rest of Canada has merely enhanced in this region the general Canadian tendency to look southward to the adjoining American states for neighbourly intercourse. The undefended frontier differs from an interprovincial boundary, however, in that it is dotted with customs posts: a fact that serves as a reminder that, in conjunction with the geographic factor, economic considerations have fostered the separatism of the far west.

Economic problems have fostered separatism in the Australian no less than the Canadian far west. Both of them faced the difficulty of shipping their bulky products to the eastern markets of the nation, and in many cases, notably those of Western Australian wheat and wool and British Columbian timber products and fruit, western produce paralleled rather than complemented that of the east. As a result, westerners were forced to look abroad for most of their markets. The failure of the national policies of tariff protection to provide for the western economies provoked the traditional charge of exporting regions in countries committed to protection, that they were forced to sell in the cheapest and buy in the dearest market.

The presence of an ambitious group of businessmen in the metropolitan areas of both far western regions provided still another separatist force. In their desire to protect their existing local industries, or to develop new enterprises in the face of competition from larger eastern rivals, they were able to make effective appeals to local patriotism. Much regionalism can be attributed to the efforts of businessmen of a smaller city such as Vancouver or Perth to free themselves from the dominance of a larger metropolis, Toronto or Montreal in the former instance, Melbourne or Sydney in the latter, and to expand their own hinterland. In such endeavours the local *entrepreneurs* could usually count upon the support of the local

press. Since, moreover, Western Australia and British Columbia were political as well as economic entities, they experienced all the chronic troubles of federalism arising out of the constitutional and financial relationships between the local and central governments. When these governments were headed by forceful personalities the resulting clash often served to stimulate separatist sentiment.

In observing the play of all these factors in the history of the westernmost state and province, however, one is aware that intermixed with all of them is the fact that in these regions a sizable proportion of citizens continued to regard London rather than the "East" of their own country as being the legitimate centre of their larger world. This combination of material and emotional considerations can be illustrated by an extract from a speech delivered in the Western Australian Legislative Assembly during an early debate on the question of secession from the federation, for it is at times of crisis that the emotion best reveals itself.

We are by geography absolutely separated from the East. We cannot, with that separation, obtain the sympathy with which this State should be governed. . . . There are still the same old jealousies between Victoria and New South Wales; and in those fights this State is absolutely forgotten. . . . We are not worthy of consideration. What is proposed even by . . . [our former premier] himself in the House of Representatives is treated lightly. People sneer at it, and we are treated as a country remote, unknown. . . . We have expended our patriotism; it is no longer focused within the boundaries of Western Australia. We have none of that patriotism for ourselves now; we cannot discuss problems of our own; that power of national life, so to speak, has been taken from us; we have to rest satisfied with what our lords and masters do in the East. . . . The Parliament of this great State, one third of the whole Commonwealth, has been reduced to the position of a mere shire council. . . . The greedy merchants of the East can insist on giving us supplies to our own disadvantage. . . . This is what Federation means to us, so that we can start nothing we can have no industry we must confine ourselves purely to mining and farming. . . . Should they wonder if there are cries about separation, about secession? And I am not too sure that it would be such a harmful or heinous thing. For from whom are we separating? Not from that great motherland, which is the source of our protection. We do not desire to sever those bonds which unite us historically with the greatest nation that has yet appeared in history. We are loyal to that Empire, which would protect us as it now protects the Commonwealth. Is there a sort of drawing us [*sic*] from that loyalty by the lodestone that exists at Melbourne? We should not be less a portion . . . [of the Empire] if we separated from the Commonwealth tomorrow. Nay, more, . . . being more dependent upon the mother country. By being separated from the Federal centre we should look more to that homeland which has been a pattern of liberty for all the world; a land that has produced the bravest warriors, the finest poets, the greatest scientists, the noblest philosophers. We do not want to look at any David

Gaunson or Tommy Bent in Victoria. We want to look to Britain, the land of history.<sup>2</sup>

Neither Western Australia nor British Columbia entered federation with any marked display of enthusiasm.<sup>3</sup> As far as the majority of British Columbians were concerned, entrance into the Canadian federation was to be regarded as a marriage of convenience. Viewed in such a light it offered a number of attractive features. The Canadian Government's terms were quite generous. They had good reason to be, since geographic circumstances had provided the colony with an excellent bargaining position. If Canada were to extend from sea to sea, and thus participate in what was expected to be the lucrative trade with the Orient, British Columbia had to be incorporated into the Dominion. Yet such incorporation was not the only course open for the western colony. Debt-ridden and depopulated as the colony was after the exodus of the majority of the gold-seekers in the late 1860's, its continuance as a separate political entity seemed impractical; but there was the alternative of annexation to the United States. The Macdonald Government, therefore, had to bid fairly high. By the Terms of Union under which the colony entered the federation, British Columbians had secured responsible government, the assumption of the colony's debts by the federal Government, and the railway construction pledge which could be interpreted in the west to mean work for the unemployed and construction money for the contractors and merchants within two years, with the possibility of direct communication with the east in ten years.

Such prospects did not give rise to any emotion of Canadian nationalism. As Dr. Helmcken observed in the course of the British Columbian version of the Confederation Debates, "The only bond of union . . . will be the material advantage of the country and the pecuniary benefits of the inhabitants. Love for Canada has to be acquired by the prosperity of the country, and from our children."<sup>4</sup> Even the material advantages could not erase all doubts from the

<sup>2</sup>T. Walker in Western Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1906, XXIX, 750-5.

<sup>3</sup>See F. W. Howay, "British Columbia's Entry into Confederation," *Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1927. A recent study of Western Australia's entry into federation is John Bastin, "Federation and Western Australia," *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, Nov., 1951. I am indebted to the author of the latter article for permission to read it in manuscript.

<sup>4</sup>British Columbia, Legislative Council, *Debate on the Subject of Confederation with Canada* (reprinted from the *Government Gazette Extraordinary* of March, 1870), 11.

minds of the members of the Legislative Council. One of them, T. L. Wood, voiced misgivings that would be echoed on other occasions:

Canada belongs to the Atlantic and looks to the old world for her markets. We are a new country, our staples are totally different. Questions cannot but arise between British Columbia and Canada—between the East and the West—in which Canadian interests will prevail over those of British Columbia, and aggravated by the feeling of wounded pride and forced insignificance the Colonists of British Columbia will feel naturally aggrieved.

The Colonial feeling is well-known—pride and attachment to the Mother Country and intense sensitiveness and tenacity when injustice or wrong is done.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless from 1871 the political lot of British Columbia was cast with that of Canada. The Victoria and mainland merchants now found themselves fellow-countrymen of the "North American Chinamen," a term they had coined during the days of the gold-rush to express their disapproval of the British North American, with his tendency to send his profits home and his failure to adopt the free-spending habits of his American cousins.

Although the prospect of immediate material gains persuaded the majority of British Columbians that considerations of self-interest favoured their joining the Canadian federation, it was more difficult to provide similar arguments acceptable to the long-established settlers of the Swan River area of Western Australia. While the colony was still enjoying the novelty of the recent grant of responsible government (1890) and was still riding on the crest of its gold-rush boom, Western Australians were unlikely to be tempted by political or financial concessions such as those which appeared attractive to British Columbians. A transcontinental railway link was another matter. It was a project dear to the hearts of many westerners, but, as the colony's delegation discovered during the federal conventions of 1897-8, Western Australia's bargaining position at the constituent conventions was not as strong as British Columbia's had been in 1870 when that colony was dealing with an established federation. The sea routes between the eastern colonies of the island continent were unaffected by Western Australia's adherence to or rejection of the federation. The dispensable Western Australians thus were not able to gain the ear of the conventions when the majority of members were far more concerned with the problem of reconciling the conflicting interests of Victoria and New South Wales, the two colonies upon whose approval the

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 27.

fate of the proposed federation depended. The most that the Western Australian representatives could secure was a temporary tariff concession.<sup>6</sup> The desired railway might be secured after federation, but not as a term of federation.<sup>7</sup>

Few of the incentives which furthered the cause of federation in eastern Australia applied with equal force in the west. The desires of eastern merchants, manufacturers, and farmers for wider markets in Australia had little meaning in a region where gold was the only major product that could be exported.<sup>8</sup> Nor could the argument of defence be applied. The only possible aid to western defence that the eastern Australians could offer was the completion of the railway link between the Western and South Australian systems, and no such commitment could be secured. As the colony's native-born premier, Sir John Forrest, explained to the convention:

How can Australia defend us? Our defence must come from across the seas. The only power that can defend us is the navy of that great power to which we belong. There are 1,000 miles of unoccupied country lying between Perth and Adelaide; there are no means of communication except packhorses and camels, and, therefore the only aids of defence will have to come from across the sea, and we know that there is no navy in existence at the present, except the navy of Great Britain, that can defend us.<sup>9</sup>

The sentiment reminds one of the coat of arms of Prince Edward Island, and its motto, *Parva sub ingenti*, the small under [the protection of] the great. The cynic might consider that colonial loyalty consisted in large measure of a lively anticipation of future protection. Certainly a relationship can be traced between the decline in the ability of the mother country to provide protection and the dwindling expression of this type of loyalty.

<sup>6</sup>If the colony entered as an original state it was to have the right to continue to levy customs duties on imports from other sections of the federation for five years, the amount of duty to be reduced by one-fifth each year. *Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia*, section 95.

<sup>7</sup>"I do not see any prospect of any concessions being made to you before the Commonwealth is established. What would happen afterwards none of us can predict. I think you will have your railway. . . . But of course it is imperative that you should come in as an original State and appear yourselves in the Federal Parliament to urge your claims for consideration." "The James Papers: Letters on Federation," *Australian Quarterly*, Dec. 1949, 59, Alfred Deakin to Walter James, Oct. 19, 1899.

<sup>8</sup>Some lumber merchants were converted to the cause of federation by the hope of developing an eastern market for their product. Bastin, "Federation and Western Australia."

<sup>9</sup>Australasian Federal Convention, *Official Record of Debates*, Third Session, I (Melbourne, 1898), 848.

In spite of the unattractiveness of the prospect of federation to the bulk of the western agriculturists the colony did enter the Australian Commonwealth as an original state, albeit in such a tardy manner as to preclude its name appearing in the preamble of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act. This development might be attributed to the existence of two groups of people in Western Australia during the critical federation period. There was, first, the long established agricultural community of the Swan River, a settlement which had had very little intercourse with eastern Australia from its establishment in 1829 down to the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the discovery of gold brought the second and larger group into the country, adventurers from all corners of the world, but mainly from the pro-federalist colony of Victoria. This group built up the new towns of the gold-fields region, Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie. Although many of the earlier settlers had also left their farms or the city of Perth for the gold-fields, there was little love lost between the two communities, between the "Sandgropers" (farmers) and the "T'othersiders." The miners' chief complaints were those common in a new, fast-growing community—the failure of the colonial Government to supply what they deemed to be adequate services as soon as they desired them, and the gold-fields' under-representation in the colonial Legislature.

The existence of such grievances, and the resulting desire to escape from the dominance of the colonial Government, combined with the Victorians' earlier pro-federalist sympathies to convert the gold-fields into an almost unanimous federalist region. Sir John Forrest had recognized this fact. He had made certain that it was the voice of the agriculturists, and not the voice of the gold-seekers, that spoke for Western Australia at the federal conventions by having the delegates selected by the colonial Parliament instead of by a special popular election, the method adopted in the other colonies. Once the draft constitution was adopted by the convention Sir John and his Government resorted to various subterfuges to prevent, or at least delay, its submission to the people, since the strongly pro-federalist opinions of the "T'othersider" majority would then assure its acceptance in spite of the general disapproval of the older settlers.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>The population of the colony in 1890, before the discovery of gold, and after 61 years' existence as a colony, was 46,269. The 1900 census recorded a population of 179,780. Aborigines are not included in either figure. The established settlers, therefore, were far outnumbered by the newcomers.

The Colonial Office, however, favoured regional federations on principle, and in this cause the pro-federalist sentiment of the Western Australian gold-diggers offered a useful lever for pressing the more reluctant agriculturists into a union. When organizations were formed in the gold-fields which advocated separation from the colony of Western Australia in order to allow the mining regions to enter into the federation, the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, intimated to the Western Australian Government of Sir John Forrest that the British Government might consider such a request favourably.<sup>11</sup> Rather than permit their colony to be deprived of such a rich region the Forrest Government capitulated. The referendum was held on June 31, 1900, with the anticipated results,<sup>12</sup> and the Western Australians entered into partnership with the easterners with whom they had had so little contact before the gold-rush and the advent of the rather unpleasant and constantly complaining "Tothersiders."

In any federal relationship friction inevitably arises between local and central authorities. And when, as in the case of British Columbia and Western Australia, the local units feel little sense of loyalty to the new federation the friction is bound to be more intense. The British Columbians entered Confederation for responsible government and a railway. When the railway was not forthcoming they protested. The Western Australians were introduced into a federation largely through the votes of strangers in their midst. When these either left the country, or were assimilated, the state looked for compensation for the forced marriage. Both colonies

<sup>11</sup>Chamberlain to Administrator of Western Australia, London, April 21, 1900, in *Copy of Instructions Issued to S. H. Parker together with Further Information Respecting the Position of Western Australia in Regard to Federation*, Western Australia, Parliamentary Paper no. 1, 3rd Parliament, 5th Session (Perth, 1900), 8.

<sup>12</sup>The referendum results, from *Case of the People of Western Australia* (Perth, 1934), 26:

	Yes	No	Majority
Perth electorates	7,008	4,380	2,628
Fremantle electorates	4,687	3,141	1,546
Country electorates	6,775	10,357	-3,582
Gold-fields electorates	26,330	1,813	24,517
Totals	44,800	19,691	25,109

It may be seen from the above table that, even without the vote of the gold-fields electorates, federation polled a majority, albeit a small one of 592. Even this majority can be attributed to the newcomers who had settled in the metropolitan area.

used the threat of secession, and both looked to London for redress of grievances.

Generally speaking, the secession threats are not to be taken too seriously. They may be likened to the traditional domestic threat of "going home to mother." The threat is calculated to exact concessions in the partnership rather than to express a desire for its termination. The effectiveness of the threat, however, depends upon the ability of the complainant to implement it, her attachment to her present state of domesticity, and her relations with mother. In these matters the far western units were better situated geographically and emotionally to threaten secession than most other members of their respective federations.

The persistence with which many of the inhabitants of the two regions continued to look to Britain might be explained in part by the importance of the British market to Western Australia throughout the entire period of Australian federation, and to British Columbia especially from the period following the First World War when the effect of the shorter sea routes made possible by the Panama Canal became apparent. A more important factor might be discovered in the study of the following census figures:

#### BIRTHPLACE OF BRITISH COLUMBIANS\*

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
United Kingdom	5,783	20,165	30,630	110,531	153,791	181,873	174,868
Canada less B.C.	2,782	20,150	40,023	84,832	107,003	141,539	197,487
British Columbia	32,175	36,701	59,589	84,490	157,043	233,195	315,665
B.C. less Indians	6,514		34,101	64,356	134,666	208,596	290,915
Total population	49,459	98,173	178,657	392,480	524,582	694,263	817,861
Total less Indians	23,798		153,169	372,346	502,205	669,664	793,111

#### BIRTHPLACE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIANS

	1901	1911	1921	1933
United Kingdom	41,551	50,923	66,739	89,076
Australia less W.A.	74,289	104,842	105,919	97,420
Western Australia	52,663	104,208	142,947	231,526
Total Population	184,124	282,114	332,732	438,852

\*All data are derived from the census reports with the exception of percentage figures for Western Australia and Australia, which are taken from the *Official Year Book*. The Australian census figures do not include aborigines. Since the Canadian census of 1891 did not give racial origins the figures for that year cannot be corrected for proper comparison with the Australian.

## PERCENTAGE UNITED KINGDOM-BORN OF NON-aboriginal POPULATION

	<i>1881</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>1941</i>
In British Columbia	24.30	20.00	29.98	30.62	27.16	22.05
In Canada	11.17	7.72	11.33	12.05	11.11	8.44
In Western Australia		22.60	18.05	20.12	20.31 (1933)	
In Australia		18.03	13.35	12.48	10.78 (1933)	

An examination of the tables reveals a very high proportion of British-born in the two regions. It will be noted that in British Columbia, except for the census report of 1901, the number of British-born in the province exceeded the number of Canadians born east of the Rockies until the census of 1941. Some of these Britons undoubtedly resided in other parts of Canada before settling in British Columbia, but still Britain remained "Home" to them. These late nineteenth and early twentieth century emigrants had generally left the United Kingdom solely to better their material lot. Their attachment to the country of their birth was not marred by any bitter memories such as coloured the thinking of many victims of religious, political, or judicial persecution who could be numbered among the emigrants of earlier years. Thanks to the improvements in transportation and communication the "Old Country's" influence remained strong, through the prevalence of British periodicals on the news-stands, frequent letters from friends and relatives who remained behind, and, to a lesser degree, news in the local papers. The children of such families, growing up in an atmosphere of nostalgic reminiscence, were liable, in the absence of counter-influences, to develop an even stronger emotional attachment to the "Home" they had never seen than had their parents.

Western Australia, like British Columbia, proved attractive to British settlers. Although the state's percentage of British-born was not as high as that of the western province, still, with the exception of the 1911 returns when it stood a close second to Queensland, Western Australia recorded the highest such percentage in the Commonwealth. Unlike those who settled in British Columbia the majority of the Britons who made Western Australia their new home had no need to have any personal experience with the east of the federation. They merely disembarked at Fremantle. No transcontinental train journey was necessary.

Another population factor revealed by a study of the census reports is the evidence of the extremely small immigration from eastern Australia to the west after the end of the gold-rush. This is revealed by the small increase of eastern-born inhabitants up to

1921, followed by the actual decline in the depression-delayed census of 1933. No similar phenomenon can be noted in the development of British Columbia. Its isolation was never as absolute. Nevertheless a significant fact not revealed in the appended statistical table was the change in birthplace of the eastern Canadians resident in the province. After 1911 the numbers of those born in Ontario and further east tend to level off, while a rapid increase of prairie-born can be noted. In a general consideration of the problem of regionalism this change is of considerable importance.

With the colonial habit of looking to Britain reinforced by ties of trade and immigration, the task of developing a Canadian or Australian national feeling in the western regions was rendered more difficult. Nor did the policies adopted by the federal governments encourage the westerners to transfer their allegiance. In British Columbia tension first developed over the substitution of the Mackenzie administration's cautious railway construction policy for that pledged by the Macdonald Government. The provincial Government's reaction reflected the general British Columbian feeling that the fulfilment of the clause was doubly desirable since the railroad's construction would end the province's business depression even more surely than its completion would end the province's isolation. The method adopted for seeking a reversal of the Mackenzie policy was characteristic of the colonial attitude. In the summer of 1874 Attorney-General G. A. Walkem made a pilgrimage to London. Apparent success was achieved when the Colonial Secretary, in the self-appointed role of mediator, produced the so-called "Carnarvon Terms." When the Dominion Government failed to implement these terms the second characteristic reaction of an unassimilated provincial unit became evident in the far west. A threat of secession, hinted at earlier, was now played up. The visit of Governor-General Lord Dufferin to the disgruntled province in 1876 provided an excellent opportunity to flaunt such slogans as "Carnarvon Terms or Separation."

Although the provincial antagonism should have been directed toward the Mackenzie administration, in reality the Ottawa Government became confused in the popular mind with "Canada," a term with which British Columbians, including those born east of the Rockies, had not yet learned to identify themselves. The political possibility of such an emotional situation could not be long overlooked. It is not surprising, therefore, to find G. A. Walkem instituting a "Fight Canada" policy when he formed his second provincial administration in 1877. With the return of Macdonald and the rail-

way builders to office after the elections of 1878 the *raison d'être* of the Walkem policy was apparently removed. Nevertheless he considered it politically expedient to continue non-co-operation, although with the commencement of railway construction his public support declined, until in the 1882 provincial elections the Government went down to defeat. The next year the new Premier, William Smythe, following his avowed purpose to "compromise with Ottawa" (the switch in place names may be significant), sought and obtained an "honourable peace" from the federal Government. The peace was not one of complete reconciliation. Theodore Davie, a government supporter and future premier, in defending the bill in the local Legislature, is reported as saying: "Canada had grossly violated all treaties with this province. . . . Had British Columbians known then what they do now Confederation would never have been . . . but the 'Fight Canada' policy had been productive of nothing but failure. . . . The people of British Columbia could not afford the present state of things to continue."<sup>13</sup>

The smaller, weaker, but still distinct entity had acknowledged its defeat in a trial of strength and had accepted what terms it could obtain. Its appeals to London had not been very successful. The Carnarvon Terms had not been implemented, and a memorial to the Queen threatening secession if railway construction were not commenced forthwith<sup>14</sup> was prudently mislaid at Ottawa. And then in 1885, with the Canadian Pacific Railway line completed, the period of total isolation was over. Canadian money definitely replaced American as the medium of exchange. Eastern Canadian settlers came west in some number. During the first decade of this century, however, the great wave of British immigrants again shifted the balance. Real union with Canada had not yet been achieved.

The problem of securing a railway line also played its part in provoking the first expression of Western Australia's dissatisfaction with its place within the federation. By 1906 no progress had been made in securing the 1000-mile link which would join the Western Australian system at Kalgoorlie with the South Australian at Port Augusta. Eastern parliamentarians and newspapers poured scorn on the suggestion of "a desert railway." In the fifth year of the federation questions affecting state finance combined with the frustration of the railway project to produce a minor crisis in Western

<sup>13</sup>Victoria *Colonist*, Dec. 16, 1883, 3.

<sup>14</sup>B.C. *Journals*, 1878, 1057.

Australia.<sup>15</sup> It culminated in a debate on a secession motion in the state Parliament. Ample opportunity was provided for the members to air their grievances and to express their misgivings over their change of status from the happier days of their gold-rush prosperity and of their closer relationship with Britain. A resolution was adopted by both houses to the effect that federation had been detrimental to the best interests of the state. Although the resolution called for a referendum, no action was taken on it.<sup>16</sup> Action was forthcoming because of it, however. A railway survey was authorized by the federal Parliament in the following session, and when in 1908 the per capita system of state grants was inaugurated, an additional £250,000 was allotted to Western Australia. From that period until the close of the First World War, Western Australia could be considered reasonably contented.

The 1906 excitement in the Australian state coincided with the climax of the McBride campaign for Better Terms in British Columbia. Such campaigns are a concomitant of the federal system and cannot by themselves be considered a symptom of regional loyalty. In British Columbia the surprising fact is that it took so long for such an agitation to develop. In spite of the fact that the provincial budget suffered from a chronic deficit from the date of entry into federation it was not until the late nineties that the fault was attributed to the inadequacy of federal grants rather than to the inefficiency of the provincial finance ministers. It might not be

<sup>15</sup>The protection given state manufacturers and the revenue thus provided the state coffers by Section 95 of the constitution (see note 8 above) was to terminate five years after the establishment of a common Australian customs system in 1901. At the same time the bookkeeping clause was due to expire. Under section 87 of the constitution it was agreed that for ten years the Commonwealth government was to retain only one-quarter of the net customs and excise revenues. Section 93 provided that for the first five of these years the goods paying customs or excise should be traced to the point of their ultimate consumption. The division of the remaining three-quarters of the customs and excise revenue, then the main source of government revenue, could be made proportional to the amount contributed by each state. The federal authorities held that it would be desirable to replace this system of division by a simpler per capita allocation. Western Australia stood to lose considerably by the change. This was partly because of the greater proportion of overseas goods that it consumed, and partly because of the masculine predominance in the "frontier" west, reflected in the high excise revenues from liquor and tobacco, the consumption of both being virtually masculine prerogatives at the time.

<sup>16</sup>Western Australia, *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, 1906, 296. Western Australia, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 1906, 111.

a coincidence that the campaign was initiated by James Dunsmuir, the first western-born Premier, and carried on by Richard McBride, the first native son to become Premier.<sup>17</sup> Local loyalties were tested in 1906 with McBride's dramatic exit from the Dominion-provincial conference on the revision of subsidies following the overruling of his contention that British Columbia's claim for special consideration should be reserved for private negotiation with the federal authorities. His action appears to have met with the approval of the majority of the province's inhabitants.<sup>18</sup>

Yet some change in loyalty priorities seems to have taken place between the crisis of the late seventies and 1906. This might be illustrated by a verbal exchange which took place at a reception for McBride on his return to Victoria from the east. The final speaker of the evening, D. M. Eberts, referred to the Premier's projected trip to London and expressed the colonial trust that all could be set right by an appeal to the superior seat of authority and justice beyond the sea. "If we cannot get justice at Ottawa we can at London; and we will get it." A voice from the audience interjected, "Justice or separation!" to which Eberts replied, "I am not in accord with that. What we want to do is to fight like Britishers, and fight till we get our rights and not quit till we do get them."<sup>19</sup> In short, although there was still a belief that the mother country would redress the wrong done to the most British section of the Dominion, there was also a growing conviction that the association with the rest of Canada was worth some sort of a membership fee, as long as it was not too high.

The McBride trip to London had little success. Although the British authorities did remove the terms "final and irrevocable" from the British North America Act of 1907 which embodied the revised subsidies, an action for which McBride took credit, these authorities furthered the cause of Canadianizing the far west by

<sup>17</sup>Dunsmuir was born in Fort Vancouver, Washington, McBride at New Westminster, B.C.

<sup>18</sup>Only one paper at the time seems to have noted a parallel with Western Australia. On October 20 the Kamloops Standard's editorial noted: "The province of West Australia by an overwhelming vote in the local assembly voted for withdrawal from the confederation. They had less reason for this step than British Columbia has to withdraw from the Canadian Federation. The claim we have put forth is absolutely just and although other provinces have acknowledged the justice they refuse redress. British Columbia . . . is heartily in accord with the demand for Better Terms and the agitation will continue until we get them. 'Succeed or Secede' should be the watchword from now on."

<sup>19</sup>Victoria *Daily Colonist*, Oct. 27, 1906, 1.

demonstrating that, unlike Carnarvon, they would no longer intervene in what they consider to be a Canadian domestic issue.<sup>20</sup> The matter was not closed with the failure of the London mission, but finally in 1914 the First World War put a stop to the British Columbian agitation.

The appeal of the war admirably suited the two far western regions, who were soon able to boast of the highest enlistment rates of their respective federations, a natural development in regions containing an abnormally high number of single young men. The financial demands of war forced the federal governments into new tax fields which were to complicate future federal-provincial relationships, but not until the advent of the depression of the thirties was there to be a sufficiently acute crisis to test or appraise the loyalties of the westerners. In the meantime, during the war British Columbia and all of Australia were in the awkward position of looking to the Japanese rather than to the British Navy for much of their protection.

The twenties were a period in both countries when the far wests continued to develop their separate economies based largely on the British market. In Western Australia the state's grievances were kept before the public by journalists, the most notable being Arthur Chandler, an assimilated "T'othersider" from Victoria who had arrived in the gold-fields in 1894, and who, during the summer of 1918-19 produced the first of a long series of articles in the *Perth Sunday Times* accusing the federal Government of violating both the letter and spirit of the constitution. As time went on the journalists were provided with new ammunition. The higher protective tariffs of 1921 offered an opportunity for J. C. Morrison of the *Perth West Australian* to investigate the position of a raw-material-exporting region in a system of continental free trade behind a high tariff wall. About the same time that it was becoming popular in British Columbia the plaint, "forced to sell cheap and buy dear," was raised in Western Australia. With the enforcement of the Australian Navigation Act after 1921, which in effect restricted coastwise shipping to high-cost Australian-manned ships, the westerners were faced with a high freight-rate problem similar in effect to the rail rates which plagued their Canadian counterparts. Of course there were some local variants. Perth did not aspire to

<sup>20</sup>Winston Churchill, then Parliamentary Undersecretary for Colonies, did express the hope that the passing of the amendment would not be construed as a precedent for always supporting the federal against the provincial governments. *Hansard*, June 13, 1907, 1617.

extend its hinterland beyond the state boundary, as did Vancouver once the Panama Canal offered an alternative method of shipping out grain and importing goods for the prairies. British Columbia had no such grievance as the high price of sugar resulting from the monopoly granted to white-grown Queensland sugar, a particularly irritating federal burden to the Western Australians whose own northland was unsuited for the cultivation of such products.

Although the state Government experienced financial difficulties during the twenties the average Western Australian remained sufficiently prosperous to be content. He might damn federation when offering evidence before the Commonwealth-appointed "Western Australia Disabilities Commission" of 1925 with such conviction that one of its three members was moved to report that "In my opinion Western Australia should never have entered into the Federation, but having done so there is, I feel convinced, only one complete and satisfactory remedy for her present disabilities, viz., Secession."<sup>21</sup> But when the most vocal advocate of secession, Alfred Chandler, attempted to found a Secession League in 1926, he met with no success. Sentiment favourable to federation was being fostered by the relative prosperity of the country, as experienced by the wheat growers and pastoralists. Similarly British Columbians condemned the mountain differential; but they were beginning to sing "O Canada," although they often used different words from their fellow English-speaking Canadians.

The depression of the thirties, affecting with especial severity exported raw materials, struck heavily at the vulnerable economy of the two far western regions. Rising relief costs brought heavy new drains on provincial finances. In British Columbia the situation was aggravated by the influx of unemployed from the rest of the country looking for a milder climate in which to spend their enforced leisure. Western Australia, on the other hand, experienced a slight exodus to the east where some jobs were available. It was soon apparent in both countries that the national policy of protection eased the strain on the more populous and industrialized regions but did not extend its protective qualities to the wests and to their economies. The eastern Australians who produced wheat and wool still had a home market in cities whose industries continued behind tariff protection. The Okanagan fruit growers noted that those of Niagara enjoyed a similar advantage.

<sup>21</sup>John Entwistle in *Report of Royal Commission on the Effects of Federation upon the Finances of Western Australia*, as quoted in *Report of the Committee Appointed to Prepare a Further Case for the Disabilities of Western Australia under Federation* (Perth, 1932), 16.

In both regions one emotional if not practical response was the renewed advocacy of secession. In Western Australia it took the form of a full-fledged secession movement, complete with plebiscite, petition, and delegation to London. In British Columbia it was confined to newspaper articles, some reference in the local Legislature, and popular conversation; but it was complicated to a certain extent by a similarly vague movement on Vancouver Island for secession from British Columbia. Both envisaged a separate dominion (the occasional British Columbian would settle for a crown colony) under the British Crown, with the Royal Navy shouldering most of the burden of defence. Although secession proponents did not worry too much about such details, a low revenue tariff with concessions to their best customers seems to have been most generally contemplated. Little doubt was left that the British connection would not be endangered. "And regardless of the tongues and races of the rest of Canada we are, and propose to remain, a British people," the editor of the *Vancouver Sun* exclaimed from a page-one box.<sup>22</sup> Every meeting held under the auspices of the Dominion League of Western Australia displayed the British flag, as well as the association's crest of the Union Jack and black swan, and closed with "God Save the King."

In both countries the advocates of secession appear to have been quite frankly interested in obtaining better terms. It is of interest to note that the secession suggestions met with considerable popular response. Opposition to the movements usually took the form of pointing out the improbability of effecting the divorce rather than of an appeal to Canadian or Australian national sentiment. Some letters did appear in the columns of the *Vancouver Sun* expressing an emotional rejection of the idea of dissociation with Canada. No such sentiment, however, could be detected from the study of the Western Australian parliamentary debates during the period of the agitation, 1930-5.<sup>23</sup> In both instances relief was

<sup>22</sup>Editorial, "Dominion of British Columbia," *Vancouver Sun*, May 14, 1934, 1. The editorial, with the additional observation that the paper which writes such editorials fights for British Columbia, also appeared as a paid advertisement in the following morning's *News-Herald*.

<sup>23</sup>The referendum, held in conjunction with the state election, April 8, 1934, resulted in the voters expressing their desire to secede by a majority of 138,653 to 70,706. Only the gold-fields area, where the mines benefited from Commonwealth policies, were opposed. The numbers and influence of the region had decreased since federation times, the district vote being 7,763 in favour and 9,279 opposed. At the same time as they expressed their desire to secede the voters turned out of office the Mitchell ministry, which had enthusiastically endorsed secession, and replaced it by the Labour party, which had declined to take a stand on the issue but was believed to be opposed.

forthcoming. In Canada it took the form of emergency grants but in Australia a more permanent solution was found in the establishment of the Commonwealth Grants Commission which soon evolved a more equitable method of apportioning grants to the less prosperous states, permitting a minimum Australian standard of social services to be established in all regions. Western Australia was at last benefiting from the philosophy underlying the Australian protective system. The change came none too soon. The state's secession petition was rejected by a joint select committee of the British Parliament on the grounds that the Mother of Parliaments was no longer constitutionally competent to act upon a unilateral request of one of the units of a federation to effect its divorce from the association, and this decision vastly diminished the value of secession threats in the future.<sup>24</sup>

In Canada, by 1936, there was a promise of a royal commission on Dominion-provincial relations, which brought hopes of a brighter future. By 1938 the Vancouver paper which had taken the lead in advocating secession four years earlier was rather concerned about suggestions that Saskatchewan might evolve some method of leaving the Dominion:

Vancouver could do marvellous things, if she was free as the air, with no debt, no obligations to the past, no entangling alliance with eastern Canada—and no pernicious control from the money centres of the dominating East.

All true, but would there be any Vancouver today without these things? We have suffered a lot—but haven't we gained much at the same time? Is it not our business to look out for ourselves in the future, so that our gains will outweigh the drawbacks so often manifest?

Saskatchewan will do well to view the matter in the same way as Vancouver does. . . .<sup>25</sup>

Quite a change had taken place. It was well to become reconciled with one's lot now that a divorce was no longer possible. With the Second World War the emotional readjustment of the far wests became fairly complete. More people than ever before saw the distant reaches of their country. There might be flurries of anger when a "Brisbane-Adelaide" or Rocky Mountain defence line was suggested, but now the far western regions had found their place. The federal Government's more active direct participation in the field of social welfare and its more direct impact on the ordinary

<sup>24</sup>Report by the Joint Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons Appointed to Consider the Petition of the State of Western Australia, H.C., 88/1935.

<sup>25</sup>Editorial, "No Secession," Vancouver Sun, October 24, 1938, 4.

man's pocket-book, by heavier income taxes levied on more people, gave the central Government a reality it had previously lacked in the mind of the ordinary citizen. Provincial politics tended to lose the pre-eminence they had previously enjoyed. The national broadcasting commissions, whose effectiveness was barely discernible before the war, began to provide the means of promoting a national culture. In British Columbia the dollar-sterling problem forced exporters to look elsewhere, frequently inland, for new markets for their products. Finally, the relative decline in the position of Britain as a great power enhanced the value of their existing political association in the eyes of the westerners, while the increasingly important part played by Australians and Canadians in world affairs fostered the development of their national pride.

The whole problem of regionalism had by no means been solved. But if the emotional readjustment could be made, it was possible to face the problems of conflicting economic interests with greater hope of success, while improved means of communication and transportation reduced the danger of geographic isolation, leaving a regional loyalty which could prevent the development of a dull uniformity without endangering the larger creation.

## A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY, 1864

PETER B. WAITE

THE Intercolonial Railway scheme was probably the most important single influence affecting the course of the Confederation movement in the Maritime Provinces. For Nova Scotia and New Brunswick it was, indeed, the *sine qua non* of their entrance into Confederation. Yet, while the general significance of the Intercolonial project is well recognized, little appears to be known of the state of its affairs in the critical final months of the year 1864. R. G. Trotter gave well-deserved prominence to the negotiations for the Intercolonial in his *Canadian Federation*; but in his study the question of the Intercolonial necessarily yields to the larger issue of federation when 1864 is reached.<sup>1</sup> W. M. Whitelaw, more fully concerned with the Canadian-Maritime relations of the period, still says little of Intercolonial developments during the months following the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences.<sup>2</sup> Sandford Fleming sought to write the whole history of the railway but, with an engineer's bent, concentrated on the practical problems of construction, and on the whole avoided the larger political and financial questions.<sup>3</sup> In short, the Intercolonial has been regarded as being of secondary importance to the great political events of 1864, and not unnaturally, since it was but a part of the complex of forces that produced the federal union. Nevertheless, in view of the importance of the Intercolonial to the Maritimes, and in view of its being virtually indispensable to Confederation, there is ample justification for an examination of its role in the days when the movement for union was sweeping to a climax. Hence this paper seeks to cast some light on the story of the Intercolonial in the closing months of 1864, with particular emphasis on three leading figures in that story, C. J. Brydges, Charles Tupper, and Francis Shanly, who served as the principal link between the former two.

Brydges, the general manager of the Grand Trunk, had been deep in Intercolonial affairs for some time past. He in Canada and Edward Watkin in England had worked to keep the railway project

<sup>1</sup>R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation* (Toronto, 1924).

<sup>2</sup>W. M. Whitelaw, *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation* (Toronto, 1934).

<sup>3</sup>Sandford Fleming, *The Intercolonial* (Montreal, 1876).

before the eyes of officials in both countries. Maritimers too had taken a lasting interest in the plan—indeed, ever since Joseph Howe had jubilantly returned from Britain in 1852 with the whole railway “in his pocket.” Howe’s confidence had proved decidedly premature. It was only after a long lapse that Intercolonial negotiations were resumed between the provinces in the early sixties, as Watkins and Brydges watched solicitously.

Following the Intercolonial conference held in Quebec in September, 1862, delegates from Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia had gone to London to arrange for an Imperial guarantee of loans to finance the railway. The Canadian delegates, however, rejected the proposal for a sinking fund, which the Imperial authorities put forward as the prerequisite of such a guarantee. Canada’s rejection of the sinking fund was unenlightened, perhaps, but in itself no breach of faith. What was worse was that the Canadian delegates promptly sailed for home, leaving behind them only a brief memorandum to explain their position. This precipitate action caused considerable heart-burning in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Although Monck realistically pointed out that the Canadian Government was free, as were the other governments, to refuse the Imperial terms if it saw fit,<sup>4</sup> the circumstances of the refusal left unhappy memories of Canadian perfidy in the Maritimes.

Canada continued to feel, however, that the case was still sufficiently open to permit some adjustment of the Imperial terms. At any rate Sandford Fleming was appointed in August, 1863 to survey the route, and his appointment was concurred in by the other two governments. While there was a gentlemen’s agreement that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should contribute to the cost, this gesture still left Canada with the responsibility for the cost of the survey. It must have heartened Maritimers considerably to find Canada willing to take the initiative, after the disillusionment over the Canadian withdrawal on the sinking fund question. The importance of the Canadian move should not be underrated: without it the Maritimes might have been much less ready to succumb to Canadian blandishments at Charlottetown.

Fleming’s final instructions were sent to him at Fredericton in March, 1864. He had come down from Rivière du Loup by the Matapedia, and was presumably in Fredericton to see the Premier, Leonard Tilley. He was ordered by the Canadian Executive Council<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Monck recapitulated the Canadian position in a despatch to Gordon, Oct. 17, 1863. Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1864, Appendix 12.

<sup>5</sup>Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*, 1865, no. 27, Fergusson Blair to Fleming, March 11, 1864; also in Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1864, Appendix 12.

to make a survey which would enable Canada to form an estimate of the practicability and probable cost of a railway. Fleming was specifically instructed that these estimates and his conclusions about the route were to be made available to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Accordingly, he began his survey. From this time Fleming disappears from the stage until he re-emerges at Halifax in December.

In the meantime Watkin was at work in England. Early in 1864 he persuaded Newcastle to promise the two Maritime Provinces probable inclusion under the Imperial guarantee if they wanted to go ahead and build the Truro-to-Moncton section on their own. This concession was apparently given by Newcastle in the face of opposition from the Lords of the Treasury.<sup>6</sup> Watkin's efforts in England were matched by Brydges' in North America. Brydges visited Tilley in Fredericton in March, 1864, about the same time as Fleming. Brydges was also in close touch with the other provincial premiers, Sandfield Macdonald in Canada and Tupper in Nova Scotia.

The proposition which Brydges put forward at this time in a letter of March 4 to Tilley, repeated to Tupper on March 11, was substantially that which was put forward again at Quebec in October. Brydges was to form a company with "parties in England" to build the whole road from Rivière du Loup to Truro. Fleming's survey would provide its basis. The company so formed would build the line, aided by provincial subsidies which in turn would be guaranteed by the Imperial Government. The company, presumably connected with the Grand Trunk, would then operate the line itself. The purpose, Brydges said, was to secure as soon as possible "a permanent outlet to the Atlantic Ocean through British territory for the whole of British North America."<sup>7</sup>

Brydges had been optimistic about the reception of his plan in Canada; but his overtures were rejected by the Council on the ground that the survey was unfinished and any negotiations were "obviously premature."<sup>8</sup> The real cause of this change in attitude was the growing weakness of the Sandfield Macdonald Government. On March 20, two days after this rejection, it resigned.

The new Taché-Macdonald Government was, however, hardly

<sup>6</sup>Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1864, Appendix 12; see Watkin to Hamilton (of the Treasury), Feb. 15, 1864; Peel (of the Treasury) to Rogers (Colonial Office), March 18, 1864; Rogers to Watkin, March 19, 1864.

<sup>7</sup>Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1865, Appendix 7.

<sup>8</sup>Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1865, no. 27, Fergusson Blair to Brydges, March 18, 1864.

much stronger. Tupper began to despair of getting anything done. Canada was in no position to take decisive action, and a great deal depended upon Canadian willingness to push the project through. Both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick later passed facilitating legislation covering the Truro-to-Moncton section; but the gap in the Nova Scotia *Journals* after April on railway matters is significant. Nothing further is recorded until after the Canadian coalition of June 17.

The Macdonald-Brown coalition in Canada gave Tupper hopes that something might finally be accomplished in regard to the Intercolonial. The projected Maritime Conference would be certain to take it up. Others had hopes as well. In July Tupper had an offer from R. J. Reekie of Peto, Brassey, Betts & Jackson to build the Truro-to-Moncton section.<sup>9</sup> John Levesey of the International Contract Company saw Tupper at Charlottetown. Both men dogged Tupper to Quebec. It was public knowledge at the time of the Quebec Conference that contracts were being sought from Tupper for sections of the Intercolonial line.<sup>10</sup>

These men were given enough encouragement by Tupper for them to submit tenders and specifications, but Brydges and the Canadian Government soon made clear their opposition to any division of the contracts. Macdonald in a letter to Tupper of November 14 stressed the necessity of keeping clear of other contractual commitments and noted the political dangers which lay in that direction.<sup>11</sup> Brydges asserted that "any attempt to divide the operation would seriously embarrass its ultimate prosecution."<sup>12</sup> In other words he did not want the remunerative sections of the line alienated and the Grand Trunk left to operate the remainder. There was, however, little reason for Brydges' concern. Tupper was quite ready to do business with him.

At the time of the Quebec Conference Brydges and the Canadian Government had apparently entered into arrangements for an early

<sup>9</sup>Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1865, Appendix 7. Earlier, in March, Tupper had refused an offer by John A. Poor of Portland, of the European & Northern American Railroad Company of Maine, because Tupper would not alienate by lease any Nova Scotia line, at least not to Americans.

<sup>10</sup>Reported in the *Toronto Leader*, Thursday, Oct. 27, 1864. Significantly it is not mentioned in the *Globe*; Brown probably thought such information might well be omitted.

<sup>11</sup>J. Pope, *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald* (Toronto, 1921), Macdonald to Tupper, Nov. 14, 1864.

<sup>12</sup>Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1865, Brydges to Tupper, Nov. 17, 1864. See Appendix of this article for letter in full.

mission to the Maritimes to discuss the Intercolonial project with Tilley and Tupper on their home ground. At any rate Tupper had expected Brydges and Alexander Galt to make an appearance in the Atlantic provinces not long after the Quebec Conference and was "very much disappointed" when it became clear at the beginning of December that the Canadian emissaries would not be able to proceed with their visit.<sup>13</sup> Tilley had a slightly different understanding regarding the proposed visit, for he expected Galt by November 15, but thought that Brydges and Francis Shanly, a well-known Canadian civil engineer, would follow in the spring, when, added Tilley optimistically, "federation became a fixed fact."<sup>14</sup>

Brydges sent Tupper a long letter on November 17 setting forth the whole position as he saw it.<sup>15</sup> By omitting any reference in this letter to the proposed early visit of Galt and himself he made fairly clear that they were not to be expected, for he stated instead that, in order to lose no time, he was sending an engineer down to report on the existing Maritime lines. This engineer's report, together with Fleming's survey, would enable negotiations to be completed "for the immediate carrying out of the whole project." The basis of these negotiations would be Brydges' communication to Tilley of March 4, and the general plan announced therein would be followed. The Truro-to-Moncton section would be built first, and it was Brydges' intention to begin actual construction of this section in the spring of 1865.

Tupper's disappointment at Brydges' letter of November 17 was plainly an expression of his fears for the Intercolonial. Was Canada's interest in the project cooling? Perhaps this first break in the arrangements for the railway meant that Canada wanted to back out. In replying, the Nova Scotia Premier stated quite frankly that he had looked in vain in Brydges' letter "for the assurance given by you personally in Canada for the early construction of the Railway from Truro to Moncton. . . ."<sup>16</sup> It was absolutely necessary for Tupper—as indeed it was for Tilley—to have concrete assurance that the Canadian Government meant what it said. He wrote to Macdonald on December 13 noting that any doubt upon such a vital subject as the early construction of the Intercolonial "will damage me seriously." "I hope," he went on, "Mr. Brydges will be able to give me

<sup>13</sup>Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1865, Tupper to Brydges, Dec. 2, 1864.

<sup>14</sup>Ontario Archives, Shanly Papers, Tilley to Francis Shanly, Dec. 20, 1864. These papers are unpublished and were only recently opened for sorting and investigation.

<sup>15</sup>Nova Scotia, *Journals*, 1865, Brydges to Tupper, Nov. 17, 1864.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Tupper to Brydges, Dec. 2, 1864.

early assurance that he will construct the Truro and Moncton line....<sup>17</sup>

Tupper's fears were perhaps a Maritime heritage from the débâcle in London in the winter of 1862, when the Canadian delegates, Sicotte and Howland, left so precipitously for Canada. The same fears were to play a part in the New Brunswick election of March, 1865. Yet on the face of it these fears seem hardly justified in the fall of 1864. If Brydges and Galt did not visit the Maritimes, at Brydges' request Francis Shanly, the engineer, journeyed down in late November. The substitution of Shanly may have appeared a dubious gesture to Tupper, but it was not necessarily evidence of Canadian bad faith. Fleming's survey would be ready in another month; the intervening time could profitably be spent in having existing lines thoroughly examined by a competent engineer. Indeed one might wonder why it was ever considered that Galt would go to the Maritimes as early as November. Such a visit was more likely to be of political value than of any concrete advantage in getting the railway started. Without doubt Tupper considered it so, and he was not one to underrate the importance of such a move. His dismay probably stemmed from his desire for the prestige and assurance which a visit from Galt and Brydges would have given to the Inter-colonial and to the whole project of Confederation.

Brydges had told Tupper on November 17 that he was sending down an engineer. That same day he had written to Francis Shanly at Toronto to ask him to undertake the inspection of the Maritime railways.<sup>18</sup> Shanly had been the resident engineer for the Toronto-Sarnia section of the Grand Trunk from 1853 to 1856. In 1856 he had gone to New Brunswick to seek the position of chief engineer of the projected line from Saint John to Shédiac. He carried letters of introduction from Galt to John A. Poor of Portland, together with Galt's promise of assistance through "several gentlemen in New Brunswick."<sup>19</sup> Shanly at that time formally applied to Tilley for the position<sup>20</sup> and had several conversations with him.<sup>21</sup> He was unsuccessful in his quest, but both he and his brother Walter continued to retain Maritime connections and interests.

By 1864 Francis Shanly had achieved a wide reputation as a

<sup>17</sup>Pope, *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald*, Tupper to Macdonald, Dec. 13, 1864.

<sup>18</sup>Brydges' letter to Shanly has not so far been discovered in the Shanly Papers. It is referred to by Shanly in his final report, Jan. 6, 1865.

<sup>19</sup>Shanly Papers, A. T. Galt to Shanly, April 20, 1856.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Shanly to Tilley, May 17, 1856.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Shanly to Tilley, May 19, 1856, refers to conversations held between them.

railway engineer. Sandford Fleming and the two Shanly brothers were probably the three best engineers in the province of Canada. Francis Shanly was thorough, careful, and more than usually honest by the standards of the time.<sup>22</sup> The magnificent bridge and trestle work on the Grand Trunk from Toronto to Sarnia was largely his construction.<sup>23</sup>

Shanly responded to Brydges' request by leaving almost at once for Montreal, where he saw Brydges and collected letters and papers for delivery to Tupper. He reached Halifax on Thursday evening, November 24. The next day he went directly to see Tupper. Jonathan McCully was there at the time. Tupper asked Shanly to investigate the Windsor-Annapolis route at once since winter would soon make route surveys difficult. Tupper regarded the Windsor-Annapolis extension as a necessary concomitant to any extension of the railway from Truro to Moncton. Brydges gave Shanly authority to investigate that route, as noted in the letter to Tupper of November 17.

Shanly was given full access to the railway files of the Nova Scotia Government, and probably spent most of the week-end going through them. He wrote Brydges on Monday, November 28, stating that he had found an excellent chart of the Annapolis route, and would spend the next week going over the country himself.<sup>24</sup> Tupper gave Shanly every assistance. He was unable to take him personally up to Windsor, but wired agents of the railway at Bridgetown and Paradise to direct Shanly to friends for assistance and advice.<sup>25</sup>

The Annapolis valley Shanly found fertile and prosperous beyond his expectations;<sup>26</sup> but it was more undulating than he had thought and the numerous rivers promised heavy work in bridging and excavation. Moderate cost over such country, he told Brydges, could only be achieved by using light iron and resorting to grades of 65 feet per mile. Perhaps it might be noted that the present line, the Dominion Atlantic Railway, still retains these characteristics. Shanly sought to impress upon Brydges that "Dr. Tupper and the Government are very anxious to have an agreement completed for

<sup>22</sup>There are several instances of this, but none more interesting than a letter from his brother in connection with a scheme for a "cheap" railway, the Huron, Grey & Bruce. Walter Shanly criticized this scheme on the grounds that it would not appeal to the English capitalists, since it did not leave "a wide margin for 'chiselling.'" "I do not indeed know," Walter went on, "that you are not too close in your estimate." *Ibid.*, Walter to Frank Shanly, March 1, 1864.

<sup>23</sup>O. D. Skelton, *The Life and Times of Sir A. T. Galt* (Toronto, 1920). Note the favourable report of the Grand Trunk investigation engineer, 106 n.

<sup>24</sup>Shanly Papers, Shanly to Brydges, Nov. 28, 1864.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, Telegram, Tupper to Harding, Nov. 29, 1864.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, Shanly to Brydges, Dec. 3, 1864.

the construction of this line—as well as that from Truro to Moncton without delay. . . .”<sup>27</sup> He was well aware that this new commitment on the part of Brydges, and ultimately of Canada, might raise problems. It need not, he said “embarrass the Government of Canada, as the Nova Scotia Legislature will not meet before February—and there will be no necessity to publish anything upon the subject until after the Federation has been disposed of.”<sup>28</sup>

Tupper was still decidedly optimistic, apparently, about the reception of Confederation in Nova Scotia. At least he had given Shanly that impression. Tupper’s general plan, thus far, appears to have been to push the Confederation Resolutions through the Legislature in Nova Scotia, as was to be done in Canada. In the meantime, the railway project would be arranged with Brydges and the Canadian Government. When Confederation passed in Nova Scotia in February, the contracts would be announced, and the work on the Truro-to-Moncton section would commence at once.

Shanly also told Brydges that he would investigate the possibility of using Dartmouth as the Atlantic terminus of the Intercolonial. At that time there was considerable dissatisfaction with Richmond as a terminus. Although but three miles north of Halifax proper, and on Bedford Basin, it was not, in Shanly’s estimation, convenient for heavy traffic.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, heavy rock cuts would be necessary if the railway were to be brought to the Halifax waterfront. Dartmouth was therefore a possible alternative.

The week beginning Monday, December 5 Shanly devoted to the survey of the existing lines from Halifax to Truro and the branch line to Windsor. He was not impressed with what he found. Both lines needed a considerable quantity of ballast to sustain heavy traffic and also large quantities of new ties; both of these factors would mean a heavy expense in maintenance for some time to come. The buildings, too, were of a very temporary character and quite unsuitable for the type of line Brydges had in mind.<sup>30</sup> Immediate expenditures of some \$145,000 would therefore be necessary to put the line in shape for full operation, with another \$120,000 spread over five years. This estimate did not include station buildings or equipment, whose cost was problematical.<sup>31</sup>

Shanly again wrote Brydges on Sunday, December 11, this time at Tupper’s specific request. Tupper wanted Brydges’ commitment

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.* See also in Shanly Papers a draft of Shanly’s report to Brydges of Jan. 6, 1865, 19.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.* Draft report, 20.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 27, 31.

on the Windsor-Annapolis line. Indeed, he wanted Shanly to give Brydges such a favourable report that he would make the commitment at once. Probably Tupper was trying to gain as much as he could from his good bargaining position. Shanly therefore told Brydges that, by using fairly cheap construction and grades of up to 70 feet a mile, the Windsor-Annapolis could be built for \$24,000 a mile, not including bridges. "If you wish to make an offer [to Tupper] . . . before you see me," Shanly went on, "you can do so with confidence in its sufficiency."<sup>32</sup>

Brydges' opinion on the subject of the Windsor-Annapolis line is not known. He had authorized the survey of the route, but he may not have been overly enthusiastic about it as a commercial proposition, or, indeed, as part of the Intercolonial. If it came to be a question of bribing Nova Scotia, that, perhaps, was something the Canadian Government might decide. Brydges wanted the Intercolonial. The Canadian Government wanted Nova Scotia. Something might therefore be done to meet Tupper's urgent request.

Before Shanly left Halifax he had several visits with Sandford Fleming who was at that time hard at work preparing the final report on the survey. Shanly wanted information on the routes over the Chignecto Isthmus; in fact, he wanted Fleming to go north with him. Fleming, however, could not make the trip, though he did promise Shanly the complete plans and profiles of the Levesey survey of 1863 of the centre route as soon as they arrived from England.<sup>33</sup>

Shanly therefore left Halifax by himself on Monday, December 12 for Amherst. Unfortunately the Levesey plans did not arrive until Shanly had reached Saint John. This made his task at the isthmus somewhat more difficult. It is curious that Levesey agreed to let the Grand Trunk have the plans at all. As it turned out, Levesey eventually succeeded in getting his way about part of the route at least. Shanly favoured the centre route in his final report, and the well-known "Grecian Bend" in the Intercolonial between Truro and Amherst is a monument to Levesey's persistence.

As Shanly had been about to leave Halifax he had received a wire from Tilley asking the engineer to meet him in Saint John at the end of the week. Tilley was very anxious to see him if at all possible.<sup>34</sup> Shanly replied that he would do his utmost to reach Saint

<sup>32</sup>Shanly Papers, Shanly to Brydges, Dec. 11, 1864.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Fleming to Shanly, Dec. 14, 1864.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., Tilley to Shanly, from Fredericton, Dec. 12, 1864.

John by Saturday, December 17.<sup>35</sup> He therefore hurried his surveys in the isthmus as much as he could, wiring Tilley of his progress.<sup>36</sup>

Even cutting the work short, he was unable to finish the survey in the time he had anticipated. He had to give this section a good deal of attention, especially on the Nova Scotia side of the border where the problem of routes would principally arise. Doubtless Brydges would want an independent conclusion about the routes, and not just that of Fleming, who was, after all, the government surveyor. After going over the centre route twice, and presumably investigating the others, Shanly reported in favour of the centre line. There were difficulties; the 24 miles through the Cobequid mountains were "very heavy."<sup>37</sup> But the whole distance was only 104 miles, compared with 122 for the eastern and western routes. Hence, Shanly did not agree with Fleming's conclusions, which favoured the western route to avoid heavy grades in the hills.

Shanly managed to reach Moncton on Saturday morning, December 17, but since there was no train leaving for Saint John he was forced to wait. Tilley thus had to return to Fredericton that night without having seen Shanly. As soon as he could, Shanly went on to Saint John to begin his work on the next section of the line, the existing European & North American. His trip on the way down was wasted. The road bed was so deep in snow that he could make no examination until the weather eased. His work, however, was completed that week, despite the difficulties. It is characteristic of Shanly that he did not merely inspect the line from the relative comfort of a carriage and trust to the offices in Saint John to fill in the rest of the information. Instead, his report shows that he went over the New Brunswick line in some detail. He praised it highly. The ten-mile stretch out of Saint John, built in 1859, was especially well constructed. The rest of the line was in good condition, well ballasted, with sound ties and iron. The railway required only \$35,000 for immediate work on its 108 miles compared with \$145,000 on Nova Scotia's 93 miles.<sup>38</sup>

Shanly seems to have been continually pressed for time. Indeed, he did an amazing amount of work in a very short period. Arriving on November 24, he had completed a survey of existing railways in the Maritimes, as well as of routes from Windsor to Annapolis and from Truro to Moncton, by about December 22. Undoubtedly con-

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, Shanly to Tilley (copy), Dec. 12, 1864.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, Shanly to Tilley (copy), from Pugwash, Dec. 16, 1864.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, Draft report.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

siderable pressure was put upon him by Brydges to have the work finished by the end of the year. Brydges probably wanted the report in time to make final arrangements with Tupper before the Nova Scotia Legislature opened in February.

On December 20 Tilley wrote to Shanly expressing his concern at having missed him. His concern was especially keen since both Galt and Brydges had recently informed him that they were unable to come down, and that Shanly would arrive alone. But Tilley comforted himself with the thought that he would "probably get all the particulars from Mr. Gault [sic] after you return."<sup>39</sup>

Tilley's letter made Shanly feel it was essential for him to go to Fredericton. He therefore wrote Brydges explaining matters, noting that he would now reach Canada via Rivière du Loup and would probably see him in Montreal on December 31.<sup>40</sup> What Shanly discussed with Tilley in Fredericton is not known, but he might have reiterated the intention of Brydges and the Canadian Government to press the Intercolonial through, in order to strengthen Tilley's confidence that Canada had meant what it said at Quebec. At any rate, Shanly finally arrived back in Toronto about January 2, 1865. In four days he completed a 65-page report, with financial statements from the main offices of both Maritime railways included, and sent it to Brydges. He had written his report as swiftly as he had made his examination.

"Confederation," Shanly had added in his last letter to Brydges from New Brunswick, "is being very warmly discussed here, as well as in Nova Scotia, and is to meet with a very strong opposition. But its supporters are sanguine of success."<sup>41</sup> By February, however, it was clear to Tupper that the Quebec Resolutions would not go through the Nova Scotia Assembly. By that time, too, Tilley was facing the prospect of a difficult election struggle in New Brunswick. In consequence, the carefully laid schemes of Brydges and Tupper went by the board. Brydges' project for the Intercolonial Railway which was discussed at Quebec was no longer within the realm of possibility while the Quebec Resolutions were, in effect, repudiated in the Maritimes. The Maritimes wanted the Intercolonial under any circumstances, but the Canadian Cabinet could not be persuaded to begin construction simply in the hope of winning over Nova Scotia; and without Canada's active co-operation Brydges could do nothing. When the Resolutions were set aside in Nova Scotia, when Tilley lost the elections in New Brunswick, the Intercolonial project,

<sup>39</sup>Shanly Papers, Tilley to Shanly, Dec. 20, 1864.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Shanly to Brydges, Dec. 21, 1864.      <sup>41</sup>Ibid.

so close to realization, was suddenly returned to the limbo of negotiation once more.

The significance of Brydges' project is the abundant evidence it affords of Canadian determination to strike while the iron was hot. The activities of Brydges and Shanly in the fall of 1864 reflected Canada's earnest interest in the Intercolonial. It may only have been discussed in a limited way at the Conference itself, but it must have been taken up at some length by Brydges, Galt, Macdonald, Tilley, and Tupper in more informal style, in Brydges' Montreal office perhaps, or on the long train journeys to and from Quebec. Discussions of this sort would form only a part of the mass of informal exchanges whose contents are unknown, but which might be referred to as the unwritten Quebec Conference. In respect of the Intercolonial, at least, they were not wholly unrecorded. Tupper's continued emphasis in letters to Canada, from himself and through Francis Shanly, shows his determination to hold Brydges and the Canadian Government to their word.

Brydges' own interest in the Intercolonial Railway could only flourish when all three governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia met in a general agreement on Confederation. Once that was lost he turned his attention to other matters. By June, 1865 he was deep in negotiations with Jim Fisk and other Americans for the extension of the Grand Trunk from Sarnia to Chicago; Francis Shanly was appointed chief engineer of this line. His work on the Intercolonial had been unavailing. Construction of the railway did not begin in the spring of 1865. The whole project was yet to know several more years of vicissitude in its long and uncertain career.

#### APPENDIX \*

Grand Trunk Railway of Canada,  
Managing Director's Office, Montreal, November 17, 1864

SIR,—

Having lately had some renewed discussions with you in reference to the Intercolonial Railway, I now beg again to call your attention to the letter which I had the honor to address to Mr. Tilley, dated Fredericton, March 4th, 1864, a copy of which letter was placed at that time in the hands of the Governments of Canada and Nova Scotia.

The question of the construction of the Intercolonial Railway has now, owing to the proposed Confederation of the Provinces, assumed a different

\*The relative rarity of the Nova Scotia *Journals* for 1865 makes it desirable that Brydges' letter of November 17, 1864, upon which this paper largely rests, be here reprinted. It is taken from Appendix 7, "Railways," 7.

character from what it did when I addressed the letter to Mr. Tilley to which I have referred; and as it is no doubt certain that speedy steps will be taken to secure the commencement and completion of the entire line, I have again to address you upon the subject, to see how far arrangements can be made to aid the Provinces in carrying out their wishes.

I understand communications have been made to some of the Provinces with reference to the construction of portions of the entire line; but I am satisfied that any attempt to divide the operation would seriously embarrass its ultimate prosecution, if it did not tend to delay for a long time those portions of the line which are, of necessity, the least valuable as a commercial undertaking.

In regard to the question of the course of the line to connect the existing Railways of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, that will, of necessity, be mainly determined by the results of the survey now being made by Mr. Sandford Fleming; but, provided such survey shows no serious engineering difficulties, it would certainly be desirable that the line should pass through the district where the Londonderry Iron Works and the Springfield coalfields lie: it being undoubtedly a matter of great importance, as well to the Provinces as to the Railway, that existing iron and coal mines should be made available by having the facilities of railway transport afforded them.

In considering the question of the Intercolonial line, it has, I understand, been suggested that the existing lines in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, now in the possession of and worked by the Government, would be better in the hands of parties who will construct the Intercolonial Railway, and upon whom, of course, afterwards must devolve the responsibility of working it.

I shall be quite prepared in discussing with you the details of the measures relative to the construction of the Intercolonial line, also to make arrangements for assuming control of the existing lines in the Lower Provinces,—a measure which would, of course, affect to some extent the outlay necessary for the completion of the Intercolonial line itself: assuming as I do that the existing lines are worked at a profit, and which profit of course would be an item of consideration to the parties constructing and working the Intercolonial Railway. To lose no time I will at once send an Engineer to report upon the condition of the two existing lines; so that when Mr. Fleming's report is received we may be in a position at once to complete the negotiations for the immediate carrying out of the whole project.

It is quite clear that the first section of the Intercolonial line to be built, must be the intermediate section between Truro and Moncton. This would of course open up the mining districts of Nova Scotia, place Halifax and St. John in direct connection, and connect the present disjointed systems of the two Lower Provinces. It would clearly be of advantage to do this, as a connection by the existing lines with the ports of Halifax and St. John will undoubtedly be of advantage in proceeding with the construction of the line through the Northern part of New Brunswick. Arrangements could be made during the present winter in regard to this part of the line, so that the work could be commenced during the next season. If these general views meet with the concurrence of the Governments of the different Provinces, I shall be glad to enter, at any time that may be convenient to you, into negotiations for the purpose of settling all details that may be necessary to be determined, as soon as the report has been received from Mr. Fleming of the results of the survey.

on which he is now engaged, and which, I am informed, will be ready about the end of this year.

I have instructed the Engineer to examine, whilst he is in Nova Scotia, the line from Windsor to Annapolis; and upon receiving his report, I have no doubt arrangements can be completed to put that work in process of construction next spring.

I have addressed a similar letter to this to Mr. Tilley.

I am, etc.,

Hon. Dr. Tupper, etc., Halifax.

(Signed) C. J. BRYDGES

## GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its twenty-fourth annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from a large number of universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

### Theses for the Doctor's Degree

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- RUBEN CARL BELLAN, B.A. Manitoba 1938; M.A. Toronto 1941. Business fluctuations in Winnipeg from 1900. *Columbia*.
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- ANGELA A. HANNAN, B.A. Toronto 1923; M.A. 1925. David Mills. *Toronto*.
- PAUL T. HEPPE, B.A. Wisconsin 1939; M.A. 1948. The political theory of the Canadian Liberal party. *Wisconsin*.
- HARRY WELDON HEWETSON, B.A. Toronto 1924; M.A. British Columbia 1925; Ph.D. Chicago 1951. The distance principle in railway freight rates, with particular reference to Canada. *Chicago*.
- W. E. IRELAND, B.A. British Columbia 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. British Columbia and British-American union. *Toronto*.
- SYDNEY W. JACKMAN, B.S. Washington 1946; M.A. 1947; A.M. Harvard 1948. Biography of Sir Francis Head. *Harvard*.
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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Report, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-1951.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1951. Pp. xxiv, 517. \$3.50.

THIS is an extraordinarily interesting book, and no class of readers, perhaps, will be more conscious of its interest than historians. Its authors, the five members of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, were appointed by an Order-in-Council which begins significantly by asserting that "it is desirable that the Canadian people should know as much as possible about their country, its history, and traditions . . ."; and this injunction, it is safe to say, was accepted by the Commissioners as an important guide. Some of the matters with which they deal—universities, scholarships, libraries, and museums—will interest historians in much the same way as they will interest other scholars in the humanities and social sciences. But in addition there are further matters—archives, for example, and historic sites and monuments, with which the Commissioners deal at considerable length, and which, for historians, have a special interest. Yet there is more than this. The Commissioners were appointed to investigate the "national development" in arts, letters, and sciences. The inquiry assumed an historic process, upon the encouragement and promotion of which the Commissioners were asked to report. There is a good deal of "cultural history" in the book; and nothing could be more charming—more urbane and affectionately humorous—than the little chapter which begins the formidable section on "Mass Media," and which describes the "cultural activities" of Canadians in the vanished, happy period 1880-1914. The Commissioners regard the slow development of this national culture seriously. They regard Canada seriously. "Canada," they say in the first chapter of the *Report*, "became a national entity because of certain habits of mind and convictions which its people shared and would not surrender. Our country was sustained through difficult times by the power of this spiritual legacy. It will flourish in the future in proportion as we believe in ourselves."

This is interpretation in terms of historical forces. It assumes the value of the Canadian nation state and of the culture which has developed within it. And it is a view which, to some persons, is not entirely respectable just now. At the present moment, when the chief function of the small and "middle" powers is apparently to stand up and be counted among the forces of the great imperial army for the defence of Western democracy, it perhaps may be felt a little inopportune for Canada to insist that she would also like to save her own personality from extinction in the crowd. To the little group of thoughtful American imperialists in Canada, and their natural allies, the High Tories of the United Kingdom, such a view can appear only as the most deplorable heresy. These American imperialists, the aging but transfigured Canadian nationalists of yester-year, have always found the intellectual basis for their "continentalism" in the nineteenth-century "political geography" of Goldwin Smith; and Goldwin Smith, as is well known, had always argued that since all the rivers in North America ran north or south, therefore all Canadians should stop thinking of Europe and travel only to and from the United States. If someone

had timidly suggested that, after all, the St. Lawrence and Saskatchewan rivers did continue stubbornly to flow in an easterly direction, Goldwin Smith—angrily denying the very existence of these streams—would undoubtedly have attributed their invention to the propaganda department of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They would have been dismissed contemptuously as a "Laurentian" fiction, whereas Smith's own political geography would have been accepted as "Mississippian" truth. Nowadays, when Mr. Winston Churchill and the *Canadian Forum* unite in assuring us that Anglo-American association and co-operation, like "Old Man River," must "just keep rolling along," it requires a real temerity to question this "Mississippian" revealed truth. Yet the Commissioners appear to have done it. It might almost be said that their conception of Canadian cultural development is a "Laurentian" one. They pay tribute to the many and varied cultural benefits which Canada has received as a result of its geographical proximity to the United States; but they ask whether the price we have been forced to pay for these is not too great. And, in effect, their whole *Report* is a plea to the federal Government to re-enact once more the old part which it played at the establishment of our transcontinental union and our national economy, and to use its best resources to protect and promote Canadian culture against the forces of geography.

The first part of this appeal is a long and fairly detailed review of cultural activities and cultural needs as the Commissioners discovered them in their pilgrimage through Canada. In a considerable part of this review at least, the Commissioners are, as they modestly remind us on several occasions, merely reporting the evidence which was presented to them at their public hearings and in the briefs which they received. But, on the whole, they have played a far more active role than these modest disclaimers would seem to imply. They have, up to a point, let the scholars, scientists, artists, and writers speak for themselves; but they have accompanied these expositions and pleas with a good deal of comment—comment which is at once informed, discerning, acute, and yet sympathetic. The result is a critical evaluation of the present state of the humanities and social sciences, and of the voluntary associations and federal agencies related to them, which is of great value. It will invariably interest historians: it will often gratify them. These friendly, but not too friendly, critics share with us some of our most strongly held and frequently expressed convictions. They stress the importance of the university in the national life, and the importance of the humanities in the university: and in a section called "The Plight of the Humanities," they analyse the apparent decline of humanistic studies—a decline which they find illustrated in the relatively smaller salaries and scholarships given to humanists in Canadian universities. Occasionally—very occasionally, except in the chapters concerning archives—there is a direct reference to historical studies as such. "Much work," say the Commissioners briefly, "is done in the fields of biography and history." Obviously this laconic statement is an estimate of bulk, not value; and when the Commissioners actually come to the consideration of value, they appear to be rather more uncertain about it than they are about bulk. A group of forty-nine books, apparently works in the humanities and the social sciences which were noted as "important" in a distinguished Canadian review, were attentively considered by the Commissioners. They decided, evidently on the basis of the reviews which each of the forty-nine volumes had received, that only twelve of them were, in fact, really important books; and they made the

further discovery—about which there could be no argument at all—that only seven of the twelve authors were Canadians. "Probably too much importance should not be attached to this sample," the Commissioners charitably remark; and they then proceed to discuss, at some length, the various pressures to which scholars in Canada are subject, and the various difficulties and impediments which they are apt to encounter. And yet one is left with the distinct impression that, in the eyes of the Commissioners, not all these difficulties are beyond the control of the humanists themselves. In places, it is almost suggested that the humanists have betrayed their own subject. "It seems to us," say the Commissioners, making, surely, a very adventurous generalization, "that the classics have been largely taken over by the philologist, that history is becoming a branch of sociology, that philosophy is under the shadow of psychology, that the study of English literature is losing its power to encourage good writing and wise reading. This is the true plight of the humanities; it is not so much that they have been deserted as that they have lost their way."

This note of criticism—friendly, helpful, but searching and acute—is certainly maintained when the Commissioners come to consider those federal bodies and institutions—the Parliamentary Library, the Public Archives, and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board—which are intimately related to historical studies. To the reader, indeed, the critical note may seem to have become more emphatic; and he may be puzzled to decide whether this increased sharpness is, in fact, absolute, or whether it is relative to the rather more favourable, if not laudatory, fashion in which other federal "agencies" are treated. At the National Gallery, for example, everything is apparently *couleur de rose*. Nothing is needed to improve the admirable and truly national activities of the director and his associates—except, of course, a new building, a greatly enlarged staff, and substantially increased amounts of money. The Archives and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board are not, it seems, in exactly this poor but respectable position. They certainly suffer from the financial stringency, from the delays and obstructions of other departments of government, and from a great variety of difficulties beyond their control. But they suffer from other things as well. Their defects of organization, policy, or method are not always the result of their own poverty or of others' neglect. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board, for example, has, according to the Commissioners, been warily spending its time in the business of establishing markers, when it ought to have been devoting itself to the much more important task of preserving and restoring historic sites and a wide variety of historic buildings. The failure to undertake such an ambitious programme may be largely attributed to lack of funds; but it may also be partly explained—so the Commissioners seem to suggest—by want of enterprise and imagination. The markers themselves, on which the Board has been spending so much of its time, appear to show signs of some of the same deficiencies. According to a number of criticisms which the Commissioners received, the markers are very unevenly distributed (historical events themselves are, of course, distributed with beautiful impartiality over all ten provinces); they are sometimes inaccurately placed; their design is drab and uninspiring, and their texts are too long and not too legible.

As for the Public Archives, they are given a place of prominence in the Report which ought to gratify all Canadian historians. The Commissioners have evidently thought long and very seriously over the problem of archives. Their

review of the past and present situation is a little gloomy: their requirements for the future are expressed in a somewhat exactingly rigorous fashion. Sir Arthur Doughty, who was possibly one of the greatest collectors of the first half of the twentieth century, is referred to very briefly; and his ambition, which was "to gather under one roof all the material necessary for the writing the history of Canada," is declared to be questionable in principle, as well as impossible in practice. An historical museum, a collection of historical prints and pictures, even an historical library, have, it is intimated, little place in government archives, with whose essential activities they may seriously interfere. The maintenance of the permanent public records of the nation is, we are told, the first duty of a public archives department; and its secondary but related task is the collection and preservation of private papers which will also help to illustrate the national history. Historians will not question these propositions. And they will share the concern shown by the Commissioners at the deterioration and loss of private papers, and will welcome the recommendation for the establishment of an Historical Manuscripts Commission empowered to investigate and report on all important bodies of historical material relating to Canada. There will be general agreement also with the conviction, expressed so vigorously by the Commissioners, that provision should be made for the regular and systematic transfer of inactive records to the Public Archives from all departments and agencies of government. It may be that the Commissioners are inclined to rely a little too much on minute and somewhat stringent regulations for the achievement of this purpose: and, to this reviewer, at least, it seems probable that they have somewhat underrated the progress which has already been made, particularly during the last few years. The reader, moreover, is unfortunately left with the vague impression that these defects in the storage and transfer of inactive records are, to an uncertain extent, the responsibility of the Archives, and that the Archives are, in general, in a rather "unsatisfactory state." It is worth while to recall the great work which the Public Archives of Canada has already done for Canadian history, and the high repute which it enjoys abroad; and an historian who has been going to the Archives fairly regularly for half the period which has elapsed since the Public Records Commission of 1912 may be pardoned for observing how many of the Commissioners' criticisms have long been voiced, and how many of their recommendations have already been anticipated at the Archives, particularly in recent times.

This brings us to the subject of the Commissioners' principal recommendations, some of which have already been referred to in the course of this review. It should be said at once, and with the greatest possible emphasis, that historians can only applaud the work which the Commission has done for Canadian scholarship in general and for historical studies in particular. At a dozen different points we shall be affected, helped, and encouraged, if ever the wise and comprehensive programme of reforms which the Commission has advocated comes to be realized in fact. It would be impossible, in the brief remaining space of this notice, even to list the various recommendations—respecting universities, scholarships, and different federal agencies—in which Canadian historians will be interested. But this review could not be closed without some reference to the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences—a body which the Commissioners hope will do for these crafts and studies what the National Research Council

has already done for the natural sciences and technical crafts. Here scholarship, as well as arts and letters, will have its recognized place; and historians, along with their friendly associates in the other humanities and social sciences, will find their interests well represented. These interests also will be admirably catered to by an enlarged Public Archives and by those two other great federal institutions which the Commissioners recommend—the National Library and the Canadian Historical Museum. A fairly clear separation of these three institutions is advocated by the Commissioners and there is a good deal of force in their argument. But it may be a little premature to be very dogmatic about the proper relation between the National Library and the Public Archives; and the question of their separation or union is something that will have to be decided later, in the light of further experience. That there will be some debatable matters in a survey of such scope can be taken for granted; and to suggest a few of them does not in any sense qualify the whole-hearted approval with which the *Report* should be received. Historians should be profoundly grateful for it—for its content, which shows wisdom and imagination, and for its style, which combines vigour and grace. The Commissioners are humanists: and there could hardly be a better testimony to the value of their vocation than this *Report*.

D. G. CREIGHTON

Oxford, England

*Royal Commission Studies: A Selection of Essays Prepared for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences.*  
Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951. Pp. x, 430. \$3.00.

This volume consists of 28 essays on various aspects of Canadian civilization, preceded by an introduction from the Chairman of the Commission known by his name, the Honourable Vincent Massey. As is to be expected, the various essays are of different degrees of penetration and interest, ranging as they do from matter-of-fact statement to philosophical disquisition. They by no means add up to a survey of our national culture, but they do provide us with a good deal of information about its condition and with some good analysis of it. Nearly all of them have to do with an academic discipline or with closely related topics and several of them are frankly on "The Teaching of \_\_\_\_\_."

One conspicuous absence in a volume devoted mainly to university work is a survey of Canadian scholarship as a whole, an attempt to provide an *appercu* of the whole field, together with appropriate interpretative criticism. In such a survey, the light could have been turned on the soft spots in our structure, the declining and, in some cases, bankrupt departments in the liberal arts investigated, and the conditions which determine useful or negative contributions to academic life adumbrated. This is something the universities cannot do for themselves, for they consist of too close an interweave of personal relationships to permit of plain speaking.

The reviewer can only single out what seem to him the more significant essays. I would like to write first of all about Edward McCourt's on "Canadian Letters," Eric Arthur's on "Architecture," and K. F. Tupper's on "The Teaching of Applied Science," as each of these, it seems to me, catches up con-

spicuously the two sides of the cultural problem—teacher and taught, writer and audience.

Professor McCourt comes as close as may be to a study of the whole structure of our Canadian civilization, not in detail, naturally, but in broad approach. He analyses our society much along the lines of the late E. K. Brown's *On Canadian Poetry*, and I have no quarrel with that approach. He emphasizes, as Brown did before him, colonialism as the ball and chain of Canadian letters, but suggests that this is now being filed off. Give me leave to doubt! Among professional people, some, I agree, are now laying the ghosts which have haunted Canadian souls, but many are not. The ranks of the academic and journalistic worlds are crowded with colonials. Our universities are among the last bastions of colonialism. Most of the general public is still colonial. I could a tale unfold! A tale of friends and foes, and mere passers-by, still sickled o'er with the pale cast of a previous existence not yet outgrown. The virtue of the American Revolution was that it left the dead past to bury its dead and decided to act in the living present. There are still many long-dead colonial corpses polluting our Canadian house. Colonialism, which is imitativeness, self-distrust, admiration of the metropolitan outmoded, reliance upon elders and betters, lies at the heart of nearly every Canadian problem. Still, I doubt if in a country like this, under the mighty shadows of ancestors and neighbours, colonialism can ever be ended. Who won the World Series? Do you speak the King's English?

Probably not. I do not know many Canadians who do. And so Professor Henry Alexander finds in his interesting summary of "The English Language in Canada."

Professor Arthur's essay on architecture registers many of the same points as does McCourt's: the stream cannot rise above its source, the architect cannot make the building any better than the tastes of his employer allow. No art testifies more horribly to imitativeness than Canadian architecture. Once the relative isolation of the earlier days was gone, an isolation which, Mr. Arthur says, gave us our "vernacular," dreary imitation flooded in, and is still flooding in. No more churches have been built like those beautiful eighteenth-century structures on the lower St. Lawrence, no more houses like the stone homesteads scattered over Ontario between Napanee and Ottawa. If we want an original culture, let us begin by burning down our churches.

Dean Tupper, in his remarks on teaching applied science, by implication, if not by direct statement, puts his finger on the centre of our problem: it is hard for a secondary country to be anything but second-rate. "Do other countries send their students to our schools?" Not the important countries, the writer says. "Do other countries use text books written by our teachers?" "The writer's own technical library provides eloquent testimony. It contains not a single volume by any Canadian author!" (p. 351) In fairness, it is to be added, other countries welcome our engineering graduates. Of course: exported Canadians are of our best. Also they are *reliable*—a word that praises us with faint damns.

I can comment on only three other essays, those on "National History," "Social Sciences," and "Philosophy."

Professor Neatby attempts a sketch of Canadian historiography. I do not think it is overly successful—certainly it is not flattering to the Canadian

historian. Miss Neatby consistently writes off her fellow-craftsmen. I can understand, because I am prone to it, a focus on the worst of the situation simply because the writer's heart is so far in it, but, even so, I do not think either history or historians in Canada are in as bad a way as Miss Neatby seems to believe. She tends to make a false distinction between those two figures so deeply loved of the reviewers in the *American Historical Review*, "the specialist" and "the general reader," or in her case, the expert and the popular writer. I do not believe there is any line of importance between these two individuals: the work and life of our historians bear this out. I do not believe that historical writing in Canada is the least regarded of all forms of art. My own experience, both in appreciation and circulation, is exactly the reverse. I put in this personal bit (and the experience of some of my colleagues has, I understand, not been dissimilar) not for egotism but for illustration. I believe that the people of this country are eager for writing that will explain them to themselves. I do not wish to minimize the writer's difficulties in a country such as this—they are enormous—but I am continually being surprised by the evidences of growing self-consciousness which confront me, among which desire for self-knowledge is prominent. I suggest to Miss Neatby and all the rest of the clan a proper conceit in ourselves. What class of person has done more for Canadian culture in the last thirty years than the Canadian historian?

The essay on the social sciences is mainly concerned with detail of teaching students, staff salaries, etc. Its discussion, while useful, is pedestrian. It raises few issues beyond the mechanical. Its treatment of political science makes one blink: it seems to reduce that discipline to little more than "practical administration." Sociology, for its part, is treated without vigour and with, at best, anaemic hope. There is little insistence here that the Canadian fields of study in the social sciences are white unto the harvest. Practical people in our Departments of Everything surely will not object to adding philosophy to their wares.

The essay on philosophy by George P. Grant seems to me to be just what the previous one had an opportunity to be. It is a delightful piece of work, a sensitive appreciation of Canadian philosophic problems, and the hopeful beginnings, perhaps, of a native philosophy. One of Professor Grant's major points is that a study cut off from its roots must be barren and that philosophy as heretofore taught in Canada has been for the most part just that—a card index of a subject: "What did Plato say?"

His other major point probes deeply. Can you have a philosophy if you do not have a faith? Can our Canadian Protestant universities (that is, all those English-speaking universities and colleges not specifically Catholic) be anything but ships without a rudder unless they are inspired and ordered by a scheme of life that hangs together?

And so we return to the compelling problem of our age. Where do you stand? What do things add up to? And how can a secondary country like this, with its diversification of faiths and ways of life, get a hold on itself and integrate its life sufficiently to tide it through the storms?

The volume under review makes a valuable contribution.

A. R. M. LOWER

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*Bibliography of British History: The Eighteenth Century, 1714-1789.* Edited by STANLEY PARCELLIS and D. J. MEDLEY. Issued under the direction of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxvi, 642. \$7.50.

IN 1909 two committees were appointed by the Royal Historical Society and the American Historical Association to plan a continuation of Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History . . . to 1485*. There were to be three volumes, one a general one and two covering the period from 1485 to 1900. The first volume has never been compiled and probably never will be; in 1928 a volume covering the Stuart period was published under the editorship of Godfrey Davies, and this was followed in 1933 by one on the Tudors edited by Conyers Read. The volume under review is the third to be issued. It will probably be the last, for it is very doubtful if anything planned in the same manner will be attempted for the nineteenth century.

A bibliography is, under any circumstances, a difficult work to review. In this instance the editors have added greatly to the difficulty by trying to safeguard themselves by various qualifications set forth in the Introduction. They state firmly that "they have generally been far more concerned with source than with secondary literature"; they declare that "the student who wants to find modern periodical articles will have to search through other guides to that comparatively ephemeral class of scholarly writing"; they issue the very cryptic warning that "works that deal too thinly with large subjects or too exhaustively with small will not be found" in this bibliography; and finally they caution the reader that their work "cannot be accepted as even a selective guide to books published within recent years, though place has been made in the notes for a few." Frankly, this seems no way to approach the task of compiling a really useful bibliography.

Normally it is obviously unfair to blame an author for not doing something that he does not set out to do; but a general bibliography is not a normal case, for a bibliography by its very title implies certain obligations which the editor owes to his readers. In fact, however, unlike the two preceding editors, Messrs. Pargellis and Medley have produced not a general, but a selective bibliography, though no indication of this is given in the title, and they have moreover stated rather arbitrary rules as the bases of selection. Under these circumstances clear indications should have been given as to who is really responsible for each section, for no editor can be sufficiently an expert in them all. Davies thanked a good many scholars for their aid and stated fairly exactly what each of them had done; Conyers Read thanked very few and gave no such indications; Pargellis and Medley take the unhappy mean of thanking a considerable number without being very exact as to the share many of them took in suggesting what works should be selected and what left out. This naturally leads the student to doubt the wisdom of such selections because he does not know on whose authority they were made. And as the editors allege that lack of space makes such a selective policy necessary, the reader might wonder whether the section on literature was not much too long, and above all whether the adoption of that silly librarians' trick of quoting all Christian names in full was not a sheer waste of space. Who wants to know that the economic

historian Hammond was called John Lawrence Le Breton Hammond? The first Christian name is enough to locate his works in any catalogue.

In the matter of the division of the work into general sections, the editors have followed the lines laid down by Conyers Read rather than those of Godfrey Davies, but they have added an excellent sketch of the manuscript sources at the head of each section. There is also a useful additional section listing the sources for the eighteenth century in the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. In the arrangement of individual works, Davies put most of the original sources and all the secondary ones except biographies in the order of publication; biographies and memoirs were arranged alphabetically under their subject's name. As experience in using his bibliography showed that this was not entirely satisfactory, Conyers Read in almost all cases arranged his material alphabetically within each subsection. The present editors have tried at least three systems and produced something close to chaos. Biographies in the political and social sections are in each case arranged "roughly in chronological order of content" (pp. 23, 248); thus, for instance, *Letters of Horace Walpole* are separated from his *Memoirs* (nos. 166, 179). Naval biographies are arranged alphabetically (p. 196). For some mysterious reason there is no section at all on military biography. Finally, and even more mysteriously, books on colonial history are arranged in "order of use" (p. 453). Fortunately, though cross references in the text are rather too scarce, there is an excellent index.

I was mainly interested in three sections: constitutional, economic, and Canadian. So far as I could judge both the constitutional and economic sections seemed admirable in content and presentation, to some degree because they ignored the editors' warning and gave many much needed references to articles in periodicals. The section on Canadian history, on the other hand, is so weak as to be almost valueless. The *Canadian Historical Review* is listed, but no mention is made of the valuable bibliography it prints in each issue. The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, the *Reports* of the Canadian Historical Association, the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada are not mentioned at all, nor are the reports of any other historical society in Quebec or Ontario. The editors say that they stress original sources, yet for the brief thirty years of Canadian history that the bibliography covers (1760-1789) they have omitted the *Askin Papers* (ed. Quaife, 1926), the *Mandements* of the Bishops of Quebec (ed. Tétu and Gagnon, 1889), Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages*, and even Verreau's *Collection de mémoires de l'invasion du Canada* (1870). Kalm's *Travels in North America* (no. 3793) is certainly listed, but not in the greatly improved edition of 1937, while Kennedy's *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution* is omitted altogether. Secondary authorities are even more casually treated: it is true that Wallace's *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* is inadequate, but it ought to have been mentioned. J. R. Alden's *General Gage in America*, Long's *Lord Jeffery Amherst*, Mahon's *General Murray* are omitted, but they are quite as useful as Townshend's *Field-Marshal Marquess Townshend* which is included (no. 1310). H. H. Peckham's *Pontiac's Conspiracy* (1947), W. R. Riddell's *Michigan under British Rule, 1760-96* (1926), N. V. Russell's *British Régime in Michigan* (1939) are all ignored; Hilda Neatby's *Administration of Justice under the Quebec Act* (1937), Gosselin's *L'Eglise du Canada après la Conquête* (1916),

and even the classic Garneau, *Histoire du Canada* are omitted. In fact, the editors do not recognize that French-Canadian historians exist. Nor do they mention a single article on Canadian history in any learned periodical. They certainly did not seek the advice of a competent Canadian historian.

I have made some rather drastic criticisms of this bibliography, but it represents a great deal of good work, and it will certainly have to be used by students of the eighteenth century for a long time to come. It undoubtedly has serious limitations, but so long as those limitations are understood, it will be a valuable aid which no historian or teacher of history can afford to neglect.

E. R. ADAIR

McGill University

*A Short History of World War I.* By Sir JAMES E. EDMONDS. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxxiv, 454, with 34 maps. \$6.50.

NEVER has there been a historian so well equipped to deal with contemporary military history: Sir James Edmonds was on active service throughout World War I, and for the next thirty years was the British Army's official historian. Before 1914 his studies included the Civil War in the United States, the topography and campaigns of northwest Europe, and the structure of the German Army. For four years he was a senior staff officer on the Western Front, acquainted and often intimate with senior commanders. Subsequently his knowledge of French and German enabled him to collate war records in these languages with the British source material—published, unpublished, secret, and personal—that passed through his hands while he was editing the British *Official History* of 30 volumes, of which he himself compiled 12, the last completed just two years ago.

This present volume embraces in 33 chapters (439 pages) all the military action of all the belligerents, in all theatres, by sea, land, and air, from July, 1914 to November, 1918. Rather more than half is devoted to the Western Front, recognized as the principal theatre, where the greatest changes in the methods of war were introduced and developed and where the issue was fought out from a hazardous start to a decisive finish. The arrangement is in the main to present a chronological story of the Western Front, with timely interpolation of co-related events in subsidiary theatres. Five separate chapters cover the "side-shows" in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, and the German colonies.

The work opens with a brief glossary of terms followed by a series of short appreciations of 39 principal commanders and chiefs-of-staff, derived from their performance as recorded in the subsequent text. Canadians would have been grateful if Smith-Dorrien, Gough, Rawlinson, and Horne had been included along with the other army commanders—Haig, Plumer, and Byng—under whom they served.

But this book is not written primarily for Canadians, and since Canadian contribution, measured in terms of casualties, amounted to less than 10 per

cent of the Empire's military effort, a precise delineation of the magnificent performance of the Canadian forces in the field is not to be expected. An artist in words, well practised in bringing out and high-lighting particular incidents, the writer set himself an exacting task: to sustain interest and to maintain reasoned proportion under the strictures of severe compression. While this task has been accomplished with consummate skill, Canadian readers will note places where the spotlight obscures or detracts from other features to them more interesting and important. For example, the German failure to follow up the first discharge of poison gas at Ypres is laid to their having overtaken the gas cloud—which would have required a dash of two miles in fifteen minutes. The fact is that they paused on account of the sheer hard fighting of four Belgian, eight Canadian, and two British battalions—as attested by the German official history and Canadian casualty lists. Incidentally, the gas was chlorine, yellowish-green not "bluish-white"; and the statement that "the higher ground of the Ypres Ridge" was lost on April 25 is wrong—the correct date is May 3.

For another example, the conduct of the German defence in the Arras-Vimy operations in 1917 is said to have failed on account of counter-attack troops being too far distant. This is hardly applicable opposite the Canadian front, where at least eleven battalions, detailed for that purpose and ordered forward to meet our assault, reached the foot of the Vimy ridge four or five hours later than the German command had expected. Delayed by our artillery fire, they arrived to find our infantry occupying their proposed assembly area on the crest: so the whole elaborate scheme of defence broke down.

The capture of Hill 70 is correctly if briefly described as "a complete tactical success" and of value strategically. The Passchendaele fighting is also disposed of briefly: "Some progress was made" by the Canadian Corps. That "progress" was two square miles, won after even the Australians and New Zealanders had found a further advance impossible.

Of maps there are 34, half of them of the Western Front, all of them clear and appropriate. They mainly show dispositions of armies, and sometimes of corps as well. One which is at variance with the text deserves special comment, namely Map 34, "British Advances, August-November, 1918." Here is traced the Hindenburg Line and the advances made by dates. The front shown for September 3 on the Canadian sector is wrong in that it is about a mile short of that Line, whereas the Canadian Corps had crashed right through it on September 2 (in what the text aptly describes as "the crowning act of the operations") and advanced to within a mile of the Canal-du-Nord next day.

The Canadian Corps' previous advance of four miles, over Monchy-le-Preux, is referred to as "an important success"; but the subsequent capture of Bourlon Wood, which caused even more extensive withdrawals, is not mentioned although the direct result of these three astounding feats of arms was that the war ended in 1918, instead of 1919 as the Allies had hitherto planned.

General Edmonds has made an outstanding contribution by distilling into one small book the essence of a lifetime's labour: he merits the praise of historians, and the thanks of scholars. The blessing of officers preparing for examinations will assuredly rest upon him forever.

Ottawa

A. FORTESCUE DUGUID

*The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in Its Wild State.* By FRANK GILBERT ROE. Toronto: University of Toronto Press—Saunders. 1951. Pp. viii, 957. \$12.00.

MR. ROE'S volume is a fine scholarly achievement on which both author and press are to be congratulated, and for which students of the early western history of North America will be grateful. In this reviewer's opinion, *The North American Buffalo* takes rank at once as a major authority on the history of the buffalo.

It is, however, an authority of a particular kind. The subtitle is entirely honest and is obviously designed to be painstakingly accurate. It might none the less be misleading. The volume is an examination of the historical literature on the buffalo; it is not a natural history of the species in its wild state; nor does it prove to be a record of the buffalo's role in North American history. It is, in short, a critical and, above all, a revisionist study of the literature and the sources, a prolegomenon to the history of the buffalo. Of the leading authorities, J. A. Allen, W. T. Hornaday, Ernest Thompson Seton, only Allen emerges from these pages with reputation unimpaired.

The book was in large measure, Mr. Roe informs us, an offshoot of his interest in the history of roads. That interest led him to examine the "regular migration" theory of many writers on the buffalo, notably A. B. Gilbert. To this particular theme the author recurs frequently, somewhat to the impairment of the interest of his study. The gist of his concluding summary is that the wanderings of the buffalo herds "were utterly erratic and unpredictable." On all other points of major interest, habitat, numbers, enemies, and the final extermination of the herds, Mr. Roe's judgments are cautious and unemphatic. The result of his restraint is to leave some impression that the study is negative and inconclusive. Such an impression is unjust to the labour, imagination, and rigorous method which went to the making of the book. It does forfeit for the study what Mr. Roe would not have claimed, that it is definitive. Yet the contribution the volume will make to historical studies need not be the less because it lacks final authority. No future historian touching on the place of the buffalo in American or Canadian history is likely to dogmatize on the subject. No close student of the influence of the buffalo on the fur trade or on frontier settlement is likely to be ungrateful for Mr. Roe's insistence on the erratic nature of the movements of the herds and of the unpredictability of the presence or absence of buffalo at any given time or place.

A revisionist study calls for an unusual range of reading and documentation. While Mr. Roe does not claim to have examined all the historical literature on the buffalo, he does submit in footnotes and bibliography ample evidence of both range and thoroughness in his canvass of the sources and literature. Some omissions are perhaps surprising. The *Reports* of the Palliser expeditions are justly appreciated in the bibliography. The little book, *The Solitary Hunter, or Sporting Adventures on the Prairies* (London, 1856), which probably had much to do with winning Palliser his appointment as head of the expeditions and is rich in observations by a sportsman and scientist, is not listed. Nor is the "Report of a Committee of the Senate on the Food Resources of the North-west" (*Journals*, XXI, 167, Ottawa, 1887), though an extract is quoted from Hornaday.

In a revisionist study also it was perhaps of doubtful wisdom to avoid as

rigorously as Mr. Roe did (see p. 202) systematic observation of the surviving buffaloes of today. They and their habits are also "documents," however imperfect. It is difficult to believe that recourse to them might not have yielded something of value to a mind as critical as Mr. Roe's. As it stands, the study may well be held to lack an important part of its foundation, a systematic consideration of buffalo ecology. What in fact underlay the wanderings of the herds, whim or feeding habits, chance or response to wind and weather?

Such criticisms, however, if well founded, are still slight in relation to the book's scope and achievement. Some concept of its content may be given by referring to the excellent and solid chapter on "The Influence of the Buffalo Environment upon Indian Mentality," a chapter most scholars would be pleased to claim as a monograph.

The book as a whole will make a contribution to Canadian historical studies similar to that of Marcel Giraud's *Le Métis canadien*. One looks forward to seeing these fine works joined by companion volumes on the Indian in the fur trade and on the beaver.

W. L. MORTON

The University of Manitoba

#### SHORTER NOTICES

*The Roman Empire*. By M. P. CHARLESWORTH. Home University Library, 219. London, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 215. \$1.25.

ACCORDING to the dust-cover, this latest addition to the Home University series sets out to expound in a brief 215 pages "what the Roman Empire was really like." This is a tall order, even for such an accomplished scholar as the President of St. John's College, Cambridge. It may be said at once that the attempt is an almost unqualified success. It is easy to believe that, as the author says, the book was "long years" in preparation; there is proof of deep intimacy with the problems and of ripe scholarship on every page. The result may be recommended to all, especially to young scholars who wish to catch their first glimpse of one of the greatest political experiments of recorded history, and to classicists who are interested in the reflections and reactions of a distinguished member of their own order, gently pursuing his way along old and familiar paths.

Mr. Charlesworth strikes a new note in his appreciation of the Roman *Imperium*. He shows that Roman law and order created a widespread loyalty to the régime which rose above regional differences, and which might conceivably have had a great future. On the other hand, his study of Roman greatness is so sympathetic that it almost obscures the problem of decline. Yet this question had become dominant even before the time of Constantine, when this brief survey closes. Loyalty to Rome had already been partly obscured by other loyalties, as seen in Plotinus or Tertullian. It is a pity that Mr. Charlesworth did not find space for a treatment of this problem in his Epilogue. No problem of the third and fourth centuries is of comparable importance, and on none would it be more interesting to have Mr. Charlesworth's views.

B. WILKINSON

The University of Toronto

*The Peasants' Revolt, 1381.* By PHILIP LINDSAY and REG GROVES. London, New York: Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd. [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1950. Pp. 184. \$4.50.

*The English Rising of 1381.* By R. H. HILTON and H. FAGAN. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1950. Pp. 204.

THE universal historical pattern of strife between exploiter and exploited has now been applied to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in England. Just as the seventeenth-century Puritan Revolution has been fitted into this Procrustean scheme of determinism, so now the fourteenth-century uprising is crammed into place, and those historians who disagree are merely exhibiting their prejudices. This, at least, is what one would gather from two recent works on the rising of 1381.

Of these, the book by Lindsay and Groves is attractively printed and quite readable. Theirs is no monograph, however, but rather a tale whose theme is how the common people of England in June, 1381 attempted to overthrow a social system founded upon injustice and greed. The complexities and uncertainties which exist for students of the revolt are not considered by these writers. The shadows which surround Ball and Tyler are dispersed by the light of historical romance, and they emerge as instigator and director respectively of a national revolt. If the sources defame the purity of the rebels' intentions, they are criticized as "enemy chroniclers." Those historians who might emphasize the endemic character of the revolt are passed by without satisfying explanation and at one point we are told that those who disagree with our authors have been guilty of ideological bias. Our authors even find it necessary to say that they have not "knowingly suppressed or distorted any fact." Unfortunately, the net result is propaganda, disguised on the one hand by historical romance, and on the other, by a scholarship which is basically superficial and capricious.

Passing to the work of Hilton and Fagan, we are on different ground. Although popular in design, it is a sober piece of work, carefully planned and executed. In Part One we are presented with a picture of medieval society which is rather static, perhaps because the writers rely too heavily on Vinogradoff, perhaps because of the influence of Marxist theory. The latter contributes to an oversimplified division of the social structure in terms of the class war, and to a lack of appreciation, especially in the chapter devoted to English politics before the revolt, of the conflict between monarch, nobility, and commons in Parliament. Part Two, containing the narrative of the revolt, is precise and clear, kept within the compass of a small work. Yet the dismissal of the young Richard as weak and vicious, and the representation of the rebels, all of them, as men of political responsibility and insight, is unsatisfying. Equally disappointing is the lack of appreciation for the part played by London in the revolt. It is significant that, in the Bibliography, the work on the rising by Oman is criticized more for its supposed bias against the rebels than for its deficiencies in scholarship. Here also, it is disquieting to be confronted by writers who are often ready to discount the efforts of other scholars as "avoiding explanations by stirring up prejudice."

JOHN GORDON ROWE

The University of Toronto

*A Century of British Monarchy.* By HECTOR BOLITHO. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1951. Pp. xii, 274. \$6.00.

This pleasant and instructive book tells the story of the British monarchy during the past century. It appears most fittingly in the Festival year—a year which has also witnessed a remarkable demonstration of the great vitality of the Crown in the life, not only of Britain, but of the British Commonwealth.

Mr. Bolitho's unrivalled knowledge of the doings and sayings of kings and queens and royal courts makes him an eminently suitable chronicler. He puts to good use already published correspondence, and tries his hand at imaginary interviews and conversations—Albert and Victoria, the Queen and Mr. Disraeli—and at an imaginary diary kept by one of Edward VII's secretaries. Nothing strikingly new emerges from these exercises: at times, especially in his Disraeli and Gladstone, the reader is likely to be reminded of Lytton Strachey, but not so in Mr. Bolitho's Queen who shows herself, rightly enough, as something less—or more—than an Eminent Victorian. The book ends with a competent and useful survey of the reigns of Edward VIII and George VI. Here Mr. Bolitho might better have kept down an irascible, old-fashioned Conservatism that is out of place in the story of a monarchy that stands above party.

DAVID SPRING

The Johns Hopkins University

*Early Man in the New World.* By KENNETH MACGOWAN. New York: The Macmillan Company [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1950. Pp. xviii, 260.

MR. MACGOWAN's little book, *Early Man in the New World*, is well illustrated, attractively written, accurate, and comprehensive. The author, who is a drama critic and film producer, not a professional archaeologist, has achieved two major results. First, he has provided sufficient data to outline the major problems of American archaeology for the general reader. Second, he has portrayed in sympathetic and penetrating fashion the personalities of the archaeologists who have produced the data. They become men of flesh and blood, bias and humour, as they appear in his pages.

On the matter of data, Mr. Macgowan first warns the readers that it will be necessary to discard the "late Victorianism" of their school-books and accept the idea that someone discovered America "at least 14,092 years before Columbus." He deals with the questions of migration routes, the racial affinities of early man in America, and the complex problem of dating his arrival in the New World. In considering the literature treating the origin and development of culture in the New World, he holds basically to those theories which see the development of American culture as indigenous.

Mr. Macgowan makes the apology that his book is the product of research which is mainly "reading and talking." But he has read and discussed well. His sources are the best available and the finished product is pertinent and informative. He has provided lay readers with a well-digested general account and pointed out quite clearly to the professional the paradoxical and controversial issues they have created by their own blind spots. The book is recom-

mended to the layman for its intrinsic interest, and to the professional archaeologist as a stimulus to self-examination.

J. N. EMERSON

Department of Anthropology  
The University of Toronto

*Mère Bourgeoys (1620-1700).* By YVON CHARRON. Préface du chanoine Lionel Groulx. Montreal: Editions Beauchemin. 1950. Pp. 250.

THE author presents here a popularized and spiritualized account of the life of Marguerite Bourgeoys in twenty chronological chapters arranged in three main divisions: "Maturisation (1620-1653)," "A l'œuvre (1653-1693)," and "Au second plan (1693-1700)." There are twelve sepia illustrations and a brief bibliography (p. 245-6).

Although "Nos Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice" have an ancient claim to the person of their "Sœur Bourgeoys"—a claim enforced at the time of her burial—there is clearly no intention on the part of this new writer to compete with or improve upon the massive tome of the Benedictine Dom Jamet (*Marguerite Bourgeoys (1620-1700)*, Montreal, 1942). There is nothing of a documentary nature in M. Charron's book which is not already available in the other, although the latter is scarcely acknowledged. The present work is a streamlined and simplified version of Mère Bourgeoys' biography, very orderly and very readable, and more accessible to the general public than the minutely detailed life by Dom Jamet. Most of the illustrations are new, one of the plates being a much better facsimile of the famous illegible "acte de baptême" than that given by Dom Jamet.

The tenor of M. Charron's book is inspirational, and his history providential, which permits him to emerge from factual blind alleys with statements such as: "Pour ne pas risquer d'explications fantaisistes sur les raisons de ces échecs, concluons tout simplement que Marguerite Bourgeoys ne connaît pas le succès dans ces diverses requêtes pour la raison, suffisante à elle seule, que les desseins formels de la Providence sur elle étaient autres" (p. 27).

To sum up, this is a book for the general reader, accurate and informative, but neither designed for, nor likely to interest, the specialist.

D. M. HAYNE

The University of Toronto

*Quebec, Portrait of a Province.* By BLODWEN DAVIES. Toronto: William Heinemann Limited—British Book Service (Canada) Ltd. 1951. Pp. xiv, 258. \$4.00.

THE author of this volume is attempting to present a series of word pictures which will bring to life the background and traditions of different sections of the province of Quebec. This she does with obvious sympathy for the French Canadian, considerable literary skill, and a highly romantic spirit. Not only has she presented colourful descriptions of old towns and districts, from the River Road at Quebec to the maple-sugar land of Les Bois Francs, but she has also succeeded in digging up many interesting details on the lives of the early settlers and explorers. Excellent photographs of Quebec scenes and beautiful coloured reproductions of A. Y. Jackson's paintings add much to the charm of the volume.

Unfortunately, the author's historical knowledge is weak and the value of the book is considerably reduced by a series of historical mistakes. Some of these are merely incorrect dates (e.g. the Liberals are said to be in power in 1887, p. 183); others involve an insufficient knowledge of the historical background (e.g. the Company of One Hundred Associates is considered to be still existing in 1874, p. 120), while still others show complete acceptance of old myths in Canadian history which have been well exploded by modern historians (e.g. Wolfe is depicted as reading Grey's *Elegy*, p. 49). Moreover, the author's geographical knowledge is inadequate, for what Quebecer could conceive of the Eastern Townships as stretching to Hull on the Ottawa? And why were the districts of the Châteauguay Valley and the south shore of the Ottawa so completely ignored? Other weaknesses of the book lie in the somewhat chaotic organization of the chapters and the lack of balance in the details. Why should the founding of Montreal merit twenty pages while that of Quebec rates only a few paragraphs?

The author prepares herself for such criticisms by stating that she makes no claim to being an historian. The book is intended "for relaxation." The non-critical reader will find that it fulfils this purpose adequately. The historian will look elsewhere for his information.

ALLANA G. REID

Montreal

*The Romance of the Canadian Canoe*. By JOHN MURRAY GIBBON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 154, illustrated. \$5.00.

THE publishers call this a gift book and the term indicates its inclusive and uncritical character. Beginning with the statement that the canoe paved the way for the development of the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Gibbon presents an anthology of the canoe in history, literature, and art.

The canoe held an important place in Indian legend, and from legend into history the author traces with copious quotation the use of the canoe by Indians in various parts of Canada, by the Jesuit missionaries, by explorers, and by fur traders. References to their canoes are quoted from Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, and many other explorers, along with descriptions of their canoe trips by travellers and settlers. The history of the canoe is brought down to modern canoe clubs and the canoe as used for sport and pleasure today. Chapters are included on the canoe in literature with quotations from many sources, and on canoe songs, many of which are given with words and music.

There is a large section of illustrations taken from old prints and more modern paintings and photographs, showing also details of canoe construction. The whole anthology is detailed, wide-ranging, and handsomely produced.

M. Q. INNIS

Toronto

*Charles W. Smith's Pacific Northwest Americana: A Check-List of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest*. Edition 3, revised and extended by ISABEL MAYHEW. Portland, Oregon: Binfords and Mort. 1950. Pp. vi, 381.

CHARLES W. SMITH'S *Pacific Northwest Americana*, of which the second edition appeared in 1921, has long been a valuable bibliographical tool for students

of the history and literature of the Pacific Northwest. The third edition, which has now appeared, under the editorship of Miss Isabel Mayhew, bridges the gap between 1921 and 1950, and brings the book up to date. By means of it, students should be able to locate any book or pamphlet relating to the Pacific Northwest to be found in the contributing libraries; and it comes near to being an exhaustive regional bibliography. There is only one criticism I venture to make. There are a great many entries where the author's date of birth is entered, but not the date of death, though the latter was easily ascertainable. Thus even such a well-known writer as Rex Beach is entered as if he were still living. The omission of the date of death is especially noticeable in the case of Canadian authors recently deceased. If one is going to include the dates of birth and death in an author catalogue, it is surely desirable that they should be as complete and as up to date as possible.

W. S. WALLACE

The University of Toronto

*Red River Runs North!* By VERA KELSEY. New York: Harper & Bros. [Toronto: Musson Book Company Ltd.]. Pp. xviii, 297. \$3.95.

This book is an attempt to tell the history of the Red River Valley by an author who has written five novels, two story-books for children, and three books on South America, in addition to writing for newspapers in China and the United States. She has not chosen an easy tale to tell. Authority over the Red River is divided between two nations and four provincial or states' governments, so unity is conspicuously wanting. But, after conceding that the tale is not easily told, it must be added that Miss Kelsey's past experience has not equipped her to tell it well. In historical writing clear chronology is equally helpful and important, but it is wanting here. Style may be largely a matter of taste, but this reviewer for one does not admire such passages as the following paragraph:

Came Prohibition. Now into Fargo and Grand Forks, as twin mouths of the cornucopia, flowed widening streams of Eastern capital to finance banks, office buildings, stores of brick and glass. And streams of residents from the rural districts, grain checks crackling, to purchase fine machinery, furniture, feathers and fine fun. (p. 268)

It is fair to explain that Miss Kelsey's two opening words here refer to a local North Dakotan prohibition, and not the grand national one we all remember, but we still have no date, nor sufficient verbs, the twin-mouthed cornucopia appears to be flowing in reverse, and the alliteration seems painfully strained. Miss Kelsey writes much of this stuff; in short, her book is journalism rather than history. Yet it nevertheless makes quite a parade of being historical, even to the point of concluding with a bibliographical appendix which covers ten pages, but which is neither accurately nor carefully compiled. The rest of the book also contains many inaccuracies or false emphases, of which one example must suffice. On page 42 we read of the French in the early eighteenth century: "Above all, they had held the friendship of the Sioux in the palm of their hand. In tossing it away, France lost her grip on the New World." If these words mean anything, they mean that the fate of France's American colonies depended more upon the favour of a remote tribe of obscure savages than upon

sea power. Miss Kelsey surely realizes that that was not so, but here, and in too many other places, her language is misleading, to say the least. We cannot recommend this book.

RICHARD GLOVER

The University of Manitoba

*Big Pan-out.* By KATHRYN WINSLOW. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. [Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd.]. 1951. Pp. x, 247. \$4.75.

*Big Pan-Out* is a spirited popular account of the Klondike gold-rush, compiled, it would seem, mainly from American sources, which emphasizes the social aspects of an almost inexhaustible subject without ignoring the economic and political-administrative sides. The author has assigned chapters to the different stages in the average pilgrim's journey from embarkation to eventual failure or fortune in the Yukon, thus forming what is described on the dust-jacket as a "collective biography." This treatment gives a fairly generous space to every phase of the gold-rush, but tends to telescope a number of waves of humanity into a description which does not conform exactly to the experience of any single year's migration. The Canadian reader will be disappointed at the scanty treatment of such peculiarly Canadian phases as the effects of the gold-rush upon western Canadian cities and upon the development of the Canadian northwest. He may also feel that the author's judgments on Dominion government policy and on the work of the Canadian administration on the spot are not always fair.

Though the work adds little new to the mass of published material on the Klondike gold-rush the author should be commended for casting her account of an important historical phenomenon in vivid, exciting terms worthy of the subject. Unfortunately, however, the book's usefulness is seriously impaired by the total absence of a bibliography or of source references even for lengthy quotations.

M. ZASLOW

Carleton College, Ottawa

*The Parliament of Canada.* By GEORGE HAMBLETON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 120. \$3.00.

*It's Our Business.* By GEORGE V. FERGUSON. Montreal: Canadian Pulp and Paper Association. 1951. Pp. 92. \$1.50.

Two small books, both written by journalists for the general reader, have been added to the growing literature on Canadian government. The core of Mr. Hambleton's book is a factual account of parliamentary organization and procedure based on long observation from the Press Gallery. It is not so much a systematic treatment as a series of sketches. The atmosphere of the Commons at work is conveyed simply and clearly. Unfortunately there are a few factual slips, and some of the constitutional provisions—notably the distribution of seats in the House of Commons—are not always clearly explained.

Mr. Hambleton assesses carefully the merits and defects of the parliamentary system as it now exists. Perhaps his greatest service is to call attention to some of its current problems: to the need for Senate reform; to the dis-

crepancies between a party's strength at the polls and the number of seats it may win in the Commons; to the need for greater efficiency in House of Commons procedure; to the dangers of unlimited and unpublicized party campaign funds; to the categories of persons denied the right to vote—some of them on racial grounds; and to the implications of government by secret Order-in-Council, as shown by the espionage trials of 1946. No specific solutions are proposed. Yet public understanding must precede any change, and any book which enlarges it is helpful.

Mr. Ferguson's briefer survey of Canadian democracy was commissioned by the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association. The factual material, drawn chiefly from Professor Dawson's *Government of Canada*, is accurate but not new. From the treatment, however, it is difficult to recognize that Mr. Ferguson is concerned with approximately the same subject as Mr. Hambleton.

Mr. Ferguson's point is to explain why things are as they are, and why they ought to be kept so. The existing system, determined by historical and geographical factors, is the form best suited to Canada. He admits that it is not perfect, but this is only because no human institutions ever attain perfection (pp. 85, 88). Changes are dangerous and undesirable. "There is such a thing as a vested interest in protest," he warns (p. 16). This apparently differs from a vested interest in the *status quo*, and may safely be brushed aside.

Such a viewpoint leads to some curious conclusions. The impotence of the Senate is admitted, but even here reform is dismissed as remote. Again, no outsider reading this account would ever suspect that Canada had anything but a wholly two-party system. Finally, some extravagant claims are made in support of the main theme: "In practice the Canadian system of courts and justice works as well as any system on the face of the earth, and a good deal better than most" (p. 84); ". . . the Canadian civil service now attracts the admiration of the democracies of the world" (p. 63). But then young countries have never been particularly distinguished for modesty.

The University of Toronto

K. D. MCRAE

*Canada's Century*. By D. M. LEBOURDAIS. Toronto, London: The Methuen Company of Canada Limited. 1951. Pp. x, 214. \$4.00.

MR. LEBOURDAIS makes a valuable mid-century inventory of Canada's stock of the elements of national greatness. He believes that in its lesser-known, under-developed northern regions Canada possesses the material resources to sustain a much larger population, a high standard of living, and great-power status. He describes in glowing and seemingly convincing terms the resources and potential of Newfoundland, the Canadian Shield, and the Great Plains. Go north, capital, citizen, and immigrant! Canadians—apply more energy, determination, and imagination to your country's expansion! These are the author's appeals.

*Canada's Century* offers no developmental blue print, no "forty-nine year plan"; but it exhorts, points out opportunities, and creates or renews aspirations. This book should please and encourage the Canadian nationalist and should disturb the lethargy of the "Little Canadian," while providing the reader outside Canada with informative, entertaining reading about the Dominion. Throughout the book the author asks: will the twentieth century

be Canada's? His final reply is not very hopeful. He sees signs of "an emerging greatness which might tend to encourage the hope that in due course it may be truly said that the twentieth century was indeed Canada's." While Mr. LeBourdais may undervalue the remarkable Canadian achievements of the past fifty years, his caution about the future seems justified. The concepts "Canada's century" and "great nation" have an elusive meaning. If they mean a more fruitful internal development, economic and cultural, then certainly much can be done in forty-nine years. If they have an international connotation, there are powerful rivals for the century and Canada has lagged behind in many developments. The early twentieth century was western Europe's and Japan's. The mid-century is America's and Russia's. The end may be China's and India's. Barring catastrophe in these various lands the century seems unlikely to be Canada's.

HAROLD I. NELSON

The University of Toronto

#### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

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mended to the layman for its intrinsic interest, and to the professional archaeologist as a stimulus to self-examination.

J. N. EMERSON

Department of Anthropology  
The University of Toronto

*Mère Bourgeoys (1620-1700)*. By YVON CHARRON. Préface du chanoine Lionel Groulx. Montreal: Editions Beauchemin. 1950. Pp. 250.

THE author presents here a popularized and spiritualized account of the life of Marguerite Bourgeoys in twenty chronological chapters arranged in three main divisions: "Maturation (1620-1653)," "A l'œuvre (1653-1693)," and "Au second plan (1693-1700)." There are twelve sepia illustrations and a brief bibliography (p. 245-6).

Although "Nos Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice" have an ancient claim to the person of their "Sœur Bourgeoys"—a claim enforced at the time of her burial—there is clearly no intention on the part of this new writer to compete with or improve upon the massive tome of the Benedictine Dom Jamet (*Marguerite Bourgeoys (1620-1700)*, Montreal, 1942). There is nothing of a documentary nature in M. Charron's book which is not already available in the other, although the latter is scarcely acknowledged. The present work is a streamlined and simplified version of Mère Bourgeoys' biography, very orderly and very readable, and more accessible to the general public than the minutely detailed life by Dom Jamet. Most of the illustrations are new, one of the plates being a much better facsimile of the famous illegible "acte de baptême" than that given by Dom Jamet.

The tenor of M. Charron's book is inspirational, and his history providential, which permits him to emerge from factual blind alleys with statements such as: "Pour ne pas risquer d'explications fantaisistes sur les raisons de ces échecs, concluons tout simplement que Marguerite Bourgeoys ne connaît pas le succès dans ces diverses requêtes pour la raison, suffisante à elle seule, que les desseins formels de la Providence sur elle étaient autres" (p. 27).

To sum up, this is a book for the general reader, accurate and informative, but neither designed for, nor likely to interest, the specialist.

D. M. HAYNE

The University of Toronto

*Quebec, Portrait of a Province*. By BLODWEN DAVIES. Toronto: William Heinemann Limited—British Book Service (Canada) Ltd. 1951. Pp. xiv, 258. \$4.00.

THE author of this volume is attempting to present a series of word pictures which will bring to life the background and traditions of different sections of the province of Quebec. This she does with obvious sympathy for the French Canadian, considerable literary skill, and a highly romantic spirit. Not only has she presented colourful descriptions of old towns and districts, from the River Road at Quebec to the maple-sugar land of Les Bois Francs, but she has also succeeded in digging up many interesting details on the lives of the early settlers and explorers. Excellent photographs of Quebec scenes and beautiful coloured reproductions of A. Y. Jackson's paintings add much to the charm of the volume.

Unfortunately, the author's historical knowledge is weak and the value of the book is considerably reduced by a series of historical mistakes. Some of these are merely incorrect dates (e.g. the Liberals are said to be in power in 1887, p. 183); others involve an insufficient knowledge of the historical background (e.g. the Company of One Hundred Associates is considered to be still existing in 1674, p. 120), while still others show complete acceptance of old myths in Canadian history which have been well exploded by modern historians (e.g. Wolfe is depicted as reading Grey's *Elegy*, p. 49). Moreover, the author's geographical knowledge is inadequate, for what Quebecer could conceive of the Eastern Townships as stretching to Hull on the Ottawa? And why were the districts of the Châteauguay Valley and the south shore of the Ottawa so completely ignored? Other weaknesses of the book lie in the somewhat chaotic organization of the chapters and the lack of balance in the details. Why should the founding of Montreal merit twenty pages while that of Quebec rates only a few paragraphs?

The author prepares herself for such criticisms by stating that she makes no claim to being an historian. The book is intended "for relaxation." The non-critical reader will find that it fulfils this purpose adequately. The historian will look elsewhere for his information.

ALLANA G. REID

Montreal

*The Romance of the Canadian Canoe*. By JOHN MURRAY GIBBON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 154, illustrated. \$5.00.

THE publishers call this a gift book and the term indicates its inclusive and uncritical character. Beginning with the statement that the canoe paved the way for the development of the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Gibbon presents an anthology of the canoe in history, literature, and art.

The canoe held an important place in Indian legend, and from legend into history the author traces with copious quotation the use of the canoe by Indians in various parts of Canada, by the Jesuit missionaries, by explorers, and by fur traders. References to their canoes are quoted from Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, and many other explorers, along with descriptions of their canoe trips by travellers and settlers. The history of the canoe is brought down to modern canoe clubs and the canoe as used for sport and pleasure today. Chapters are included on the canoe in literature with quotations from many sources, and on canoe songs, many of which are given with words and music.

There is a large section of illustrations taken from old prints and more modern paintings and photographs, showing also details of canoe construction. The whole anthology is detailed, wide-ranging, and handsomely produced.

Toronto

M. Q. INNIS

*Charles W. Smith's Pacific Northwest Americana: A Check-List of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest*. Edition 3, revised and extended by ISABEL MAYHEW. Portland, Oregon: Binfords and Mort. 1950. Pp. vi, 381.

CHARLES W. SMITH'S *Pacific Northwest Americana*, of which the second edition appeared in 1921, has long been a valuable bibliographical tool for students

of the history and literature of the Pacific Northwest. The third edition, which has now appeared, under the editorship of Miss Isabel Mayhew, bridges the gap between 1921 and 1950, and brings the book up to date. By means of it, students should be able to locate any book or pamphlet relating to the Pacific Northwest to be found in the contributing libraries; and it comes near to being an exhaustive regional bibliography. There is only one criticism I venture to make. There are a great many entries where the author's date of birth is entered, but not the date of death, though the latter was easily ascertainable. Thus even such a well-known writer as Rex Beach is entered as if he were still living. The omission of the date of death is especially noticeable in the case of Canadian authors recently deceased. If one is going to include the dates of birth and death in an author catalogue, it is surely desirable that they should be as complete and as up to date as possible.

W. S. WALLACE

The University of Toronto

*Red River Runs North!* By VERA KELSEY. New York: Harper & Bros. [Toronto: Musson Book Company Ltd.]. Pp. xviii, 297. \$3.95.

This book is an attempt to tell the history of the Red River Valley by an author who has written five novels, two story-books for children, and three books on South America, in addition to writing for newspapers in China and the United States. She has not chosen an easy tale to tell. Authority over the Red River is divided between two nations and four provincial or states' governments, so unity is conspicuously wanting. But, after conceding that the tale is not easily told, it must be added that Miss Kelsey's past experience has not equipped her to tell it well. In historical writing clear chronology is equally helpful and important, but it is wanting here. Style may be largely a matter of taste, but this reviewer for one does not admire such passages as the following paragraph:

Came Prohibition. Now into Fargo and Grand Forks, as twin mouths of the cornucopia, flowed widening streams of Eastern capital to finance banks, office buildings, stores of brick and glass. And streams of residents from the rural districts, grain checks crackling, to purchase fine machinery, furniture, feathers and fine fun. (p. 268)

It is fair to explain that Miss Kelsey's two opening words here refer to a local North Dakotan prohibition, and not the grand national one we all remember, but we still have no date, nor sufficient verbs, the twin-mouthed cornucopia appears to be flowing in reverse, and the alliteration seems painfully strained. Miss Kelsey writes much of this stuff; in short, her book is journalism rather than history. Yet it nevertheless makes quite a parade of being historical, even to the point of concluding with a bibliographical appendix which covers ten pages, but which is neither accurately nor carefully compiled. The rest of the book also contains many inaccuracies or false emphases, of which one example must suffice. On page 42 we read of the French in the early eighteenth century: "Above all, they had held the friendship of the Sioux in the palm of their hand. In tossing it away, France lost her grip on the New World." If these words mean anything, they mean that the fate of France's American colonies depended more upon the favour of a remote tribe of obscure savages than upon

sea power. Miss Kelsey surely realizes that that was not so, but here, and in too many other places, her language is misleading, to say the least. We cannot recommend this book.

RICHARD GLOVER

The University of Manitoba

*Big Pan-out.* By KATHRYN WINSLOW. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. [Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd.]. 1951. Pp. x, 247. \$4.75.

*Big Pan-Out* is a spirited popular account of the Klondike gold-rush, compiled, it would seem, mainly from American sources, which emphasizes the social aspects of an almost inexhaustible subject without ignoring the economic and political-administrative sides. The author has assigned chapters to the different stages in the average pilgrim's journey from embarkation to eventual failure or fortune in the Yukon, thus forming what is described on the dust-jacket as a "collective biography." This treatment gives a fairly generous space to every phase of the gold-rush, but tends to telescope a number of waves of humanity into a description which does not conform exactly to the experience of any single year's migration. The Canadian reader will be disappointed at the scanty treatment of such peculiarly Canadian phases as the effects of the gold-rush upon western Canadian cities and upon the development of the Canadian northwest. He may also feel that the author's judgments on Dominion government policy and on the work of the Canadian administration on the spot are not always fair.

Though the work adds little new to the mass of published material on the Klondike gold-rush the author should be commended for casting her account of an important historical phenomenon in vivid, exciting terms worthy of the subject. Unfortunately, however, the book's usefulness is seriously impaired by the total absence of a bibliography or of source references even for lengthy quotations.

M. ZASLOW

Carleton College, Ottawa

*The Parliament of Canada.* By GEORGE HAMBLETON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 120. \$3.00.

*It's Our Business.* By GEORGE V. FERGUSON. Montreal: Canadian Pulp and Paper Association. 1951. Pp. 92. \$1.50.

Two small books, both written by journalists for the general reader, have been added to the growing literature on Canadian government. The core of Mr. Hambleton's book is a factual account of parliamentary organization and procedure based on long observation from the Press Gallery. It is not so much a systematic treatment as a series of sketches. The atmosphere of the Commons at work is conveyed simply and clearly. Unfortunately there are a few factual slips, and some of the constitutional provisions—notably the distribution of seats in the House of Commons—are not always clearly explained.

Mr. Hambleton assesses carefully the merits and defects of the parliamentary system as it now exists. Perhaps his greatest service is to call attention to some of its current problems: to the need for Senate reform; to the dis-

crepancies between a party's strength at the polls and the number of seats it may win in the Commons; to the need for greater efficiency in House of Commons procedure; to the dangers of unlimited and unpublicized party campaign funds; to the categories of persons denied the right to vote—some of them on racial grounds; and to the implications of government by secret Order-in-Council, as shown by the espionage trials of 1946. No specific solutions are proposed. Yet public understanding must precede any change, and any book which enlarges it is helpful.

Mr. Ferguson's briefer survey of Canadian democracy was commissioned by the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association. The factual material, drawn chiefly from Professor Dawson's *Government of Canada*, is accurate but not new. From the treatment, however, it is difficult to recognize that Mr. Ferguson is concerned with approximately the same subject as Mr. Hambleton.

Mr. Ferguson's point is to explain why things are as they are, and why they ought to be kept so. The existing system, determined by historical and geographical factors, is the form best suited to Canada. He admits that it is not perfect, but this is only because no human institutions ever attain perfection (pp. 85, 88). Changes are dangerous and undesirable. "There is such a thing as a vested interest in protest," he warns (p. 16). This apparently differs from a vested interest in the *status quo*, and may safely be brushed aside.

Such a viewpoint leads to some curious conclusions. The impotence of the Senate is admitted, but even here reform is dismissed as remote. Again, no outsider reading this account would ever suspect that Canada had anything but a wholly two-party system. Finally, some extravagant claims are made in support of the main theme: "In practice the Canadian system of courts and justice works as well as any system on the face of the earth, and a good deal better than most" (p. 84); ". . . the Canadian civil service now attracts the admiration of the democracies of the world" (p. 63). But then young countries have never been particularly distinguished for modesty.

K. D. MCRAE

The University of Toronto

*Canada's Century*. By D. M. LEBOURDAIS. Toronto, London: The Methuen Company of Canada Limited. 1951. Pp. x, 214. \$4.00.

MR. LEBOURDAIS makes a valuable mid-century inventory of Canada's stock of the elements of national greatness. He believes that in its lesser-known, under-developed northern regions Canada possesses the material resources to sustain a much larger population, a high standard of living, and great-power status. He describes in glowing and seemingly convincing terms the resources and potential of Newfoundland, the Canadian Shield, and the Great Plains. Go north, capital, citizen, and immigrant! Canadians—apply more energy, determination, and imagination to your country's expansion! These are the author's appeals.

*Canada's Century* offers no developmental blue print, no "forty-nine year plan"; but it exhorts, points out opportunities, and creates or renews aspirations. This book should please and encourage the Canadian nationalist and should disturb the lethargy of the "Little Canadian," while providing the reader outside Canada with informative, entertaining reading about the Dominion. Throughout the book the author asks: will the twentieth century

be Canada's? His final reply is not very hopeful. He sees signs of "an emerging greatness which might tend to encourage the hope that in due course it may be truly said that the twentieth century was indeed Canada's." While Mr. LeBourdais may undervalue the remarkable Canadian achievements of the past fifty years, his caution about the future seems justified. The concepts "Canada's century" and "great nation" have an elusive meaning. If they mean a more fruitful internal development, economic and cultural, then certainly much can be done in forty-nine years. If they have an international connotation, there are powerful rivals for the century and Canada has lagged behind in many developments. The early twentieth century was western Europe's and Japan's. The mid-century is America's and Russia's. The end may be China's and India's. Barring catastrophe in these various lands the century seems unlikely to be Canada's.

HAROLD I. NELSON

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#### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- ARNOULT, PIERRE, *Les Finances de la France et l'occupation allemande* (1940-1944) (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1951, viii, 410 pp., fr. 800). BALON, J., *L'Organisation judiciaire des marchés féodales* (Namur, J. Duculot, S. A. Gembloux, 1951, 74 pp.). BROWN, EVERETT S., *The Territorial Delegate to Congress and Other Essays* (Ann Arbor, Mich., The George Wahr Publishing Co., 1950, viii, 192 pp.). CLOUGH, OWEN, ed., *Journal of the Society of the Clerks-at-the-Table in Empire Parliaments*, vol. XVIII for 1949 (London, Butterworth & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1950, viii, 347 pp., 30s.). DEMOUGEOT, E., *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain, 395-410: Essai sur le gouvernement impérial* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1951, xvi, 618 pp., \$5.30). FARADAY, W. BARNARD, *The English and Welsh Boroughs: An Historical Outline* (Hadleigh, Sussex, The Thames Bank Publishing Company Limited, 1951, xiv, 111 pp., 11s.). FARMER, PAUL, *The European World: A Historical Introduction* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, xxvi, 618, xxv pp., \$5.00). France, Assemblée nationale, Commission (1) chargée de enquêter sur les événements survenus en France de 1933 à 1945. *Rapport*, I (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, n.d., 167 pp.); *Annexes (Dépositions)*, I-III (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, n.d. 835 pp.). FRENCH, E. G., *Good-bye to Boot and Saddle, or the Tragic Passing of British Cavalry* (London, Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd.; Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1951, 283 pp., \$5.00). GODECHOT, JACQUES, *Les Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1951, viii, 687 pp., fr. 1.800). GREGORIE, ANNE KING, ed., *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671-1779* (Washington, D.C., The American Historical Association, 1950, vi, 676 pp., \$10.00). GROTIUS, HUCO, *De Iure Praedae Commentarius*, vol. I: *A Translation of the Original Manuscript of 1604*, by GWLADYS L. WILLIAM, with the collaboration of WALTER H. ZEYDEL; vol. II: *A Collotype Reproduction of the Original Manuscript in the Handwriting of Grotius Belonging to the State University of Leyden* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1950, xxxvi, 438; vi, 326 pp.). HAAC, OSCAR A., *Les Principes inspirateurs de Michelet: Sensibilité et philosophie de l'histoire* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press; Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1951, viii, 244 pp., fr. 600). HILL, NORMAN L., STOKE, HAROLD W., and SCHNEIDER, CARL J., *The Background of European Government* (3rd ed., New York, Rinehart &

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS  
BY MARGARET JEAN HOUSTON

Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also the quarterly bibliography published in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," Part I, English-Canadian Letters, published each April, Part II, French- and New-Canadian Letters, published each July.

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

- BARKER, ERNEST. *The Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire*. Current Problems no. 7. Second edition. London: Cambridge University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1951. Pp. viii, 171. \$1.10. Contains material on the government of India and on the constitutional problems of Commonwealth membership.
- BIGGS-DAVISON, JOHN. Commonwealth Unity (*National and English Review*, CXXXVII (824), Oct., 1951, 216-20).
- HARLOW, VINCENT. *The Historian and British Colonial History: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University of Oxford on 16 November 1950*. London, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 24. 60c.
- RUSSELL, MARY. *Great Britain and Canada*. London: Cambridge University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1950. Pp. 312. \$2.50.
- STAHL, KATHLEEN M. *British and Soviet Colonial Systems*. London: Faber and Faber Limited [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Limited]. 1951. Pp. 114. \$3.00. This volume contains a short essay on the development of Commonwealth status.

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- CADIEUX, MARCEL. *Premières armes*. Montréal: Le Cercle du Livre de France. 1951. Pp. 207. \$1.50. Reminiscences of a member of the Canadian diplomatic corps at London and Brussels, 1944-6.
- Canada, Department of External Affairs, Information Division. *Diplomatic and Consular Representatives in Ottawa, May 15, 1951*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1951. Pp. 52 (Eng.), 53 (Fr.). 15c.
- GALBRAITH, JOHN S. *The Establishment of Canadian Diplomatic Status in Washington*. University of California Publications in History, 41. Berkeley: University of California Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1951. Pp. 119. \$1.65.
- The Niagara Conference (*International Journal*, VI (3), summer, 1951, 171-8). A report by a member of the Canadian delegation to the Canadian-American Conference on Foreign Relations, Niagara Falls, Ontario, May 31-June 5, 1951.
- PEARSON, LESTER B. The Development of Canadian Foreign Policy (*Foreign Affairs*, XXX (1), Oct., 1951, 17-30).

- SOWARD, F. H. The Korean Crisis and the Commonwealth (*Pacific Affairs*, XXIV (2), June, 1951, 115-30).
- SPOFFORD, CHARLES. The North Atlantic Treaty: Its Scope and Progress (*United Empire*, XLII (4), July-Aug., 1951, 184-9).
- Toward Atlantic Security (*International Affairs*, XXVII (4), Oct., 1951, 434-9).

### III. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

- Canada, Department of National Defence, Army Headquarters, Historical Section. *Introduction to the Study of Military History for Canadian Students*. Ottawa: Directorate of Military Training, Army Headquarters. 1951. Pp. iv, 39, with 3 maps. See p. 410.
- GORDON, H. SCOTT. The Trawler Question in the United Kingdom and Canada (*Dalhousie Review*, XXXI (2), summer, 1951, 117-27). The history of a controversy which has existed in the fishing industry since the seventeenth century.
- HANRATTY, C. J. Royalty in Canada (*Canadian National Magazine*, XXXVII (9), Oct., 1951, 5-7). An account of royal visits to Canada since 1789, when Prince William Henry, later William IV, visited Halifax.
- JACKES, LYMAN B. The Centennial of Canadian Postage Stamps (*Canadian Banker*, LVIII (2), spring, 1951, 128-34).
- MASON, RALPH STOKES. *A Hundred Years of Canadian Stamps, 1851-1951*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. xviii, 99, illustrated. \$4.00. To be reviewed later.
- PALK, HELEN. *The Book of Canadian Achievement*. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited. 1951. Pp. x, 306. \$3.75. This book deals with Canadian contributions in the fields of science, industry, agriculture, the arts, radio, sport, and aviation.
- Royal Bank of Canada. *Canada in Picture and Story*. Montreal. 1951. Pp. 32, with map and illustrations. Free. This book is designed for new and prospective Canadians and has a Preface in English, Swedish, German, and Italian.

#### (2) Discovery and Exploration

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## (2) The Province of Quebec

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### IX. ARTS AND SCIENCES

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- HEILMAR, ANNA M., trans., BENISOVICH, MICHEL, intro. by. Peter Rindisbacher, Swiss Artist (*Minnesota History*, XXXII (3), autumn, 1951, 155-62). The translation of two articles on Rindisbacher published in 1870 in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.
- HOCHBAUM, ALBERT. Over Manitoba Marshes: A Group of Paintings by Peter Scott (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Sept., 1951, 27-31).
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- MORISSET, GÉRARD. Old Churches of Quebec (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIII (3), 100-17). A discussion of the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth century churches in the province of Quebec.
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- SYLVESTRE, GUY. Réflexions sur notre roman (*Culture*, XII (3), sept. 1951, 227-46).

### (2) Science and Agriculture

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### (3) Geography, Transportation, and Migration

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- of the various groups of refugees admitted to Canada since World War II, their problems of assimilation, and their cultural contributions to Canadian life.
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- HARRINGTON, LYN and HARRINGTON, RICHARD. The Dawson Route (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIII (3), Sept., 1951, 136-43). The Dawson route connecting Port Arthur and Winnipeg served as a military highway during the Riel Rebellion, and as a colonist road until the building of the C.P.R.
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#### X. ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

See the quarterly bibliography published in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

GEORGE G. PATTERSON

Judge George G. Patterson, one of the most outstanding students of Canadian history in the Maritime Provinces, died at New Glasgow on September 10. He was a charter member of the Champlain Society and the author of two well-known books, *Studies in Nova Scotian History* and *More Studies in Nova Scotian History*.

KENNETH BELL

The Reverend Kenneth Bell, a member of the Department of History of the University of Toronto from 1908 to 1910 and later senior Dean of Balliol College, died near Coventry, England on October 13. While in this country he contributed the chapters on education in Ontario to *Canada and Its Provinces*. He was also largely responsible for sending out the English children from Oxford and Cambridge who came to Canada at the beginning of the Second World War. (See the book by his children, C. and E. Bell, *Thank You Twice*, New York, 1941.)

### PERSONAL ITEMS

George Bennett is leaving the University of Toronto, where he has been a lecturer in the Department of History since July, 1949, to take an appointment as Lecturer in the Institute of Colonial Studies at Oxford University.

Donald Blackley, who has been doing graduate work at the universities of Toronto and Aberdeen, has been appointed Assistant Professor of History at the University of Alberta.

Ross W. Collins, of the Department of History at the University of Alberta, has been promoted to the rank of Professor.

D. G. Creighton, Professor of History at the University of Toronto, is engaged in research in England on a Nuffield fellowship, while on a year's leave of absence.

David M. L. Farr, on leave of absence from Carlton College, has been elected to a studentship at Nuffield College, Oxford.

Ronald Grantham has been appointed Sessional Lecturer in History at Carlton College.

W. E. C. Harrison, Professor of History at Queen's University, has been appointed Head of the Department in succession to the late R. G. Trotter.

Norman Macdonald, Professor of History at McMaster University, has been appointed Head of the Department in succession to Professor Chester New.

Arthur Maheux, Professor of History and Archivist at the University of Laval, has received from the French Academy the French Language Prize for services rendered to the French language outside of France.

Edgar McInnis has resigned from his appointment as Professor of History at the University of Toronto to become President of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs with effect early in 1952. He has been on leave of absence from the University completing a study of the evolution of post-war settlements with the assistance of a Rockefeller grant.

Kenneth McNaught, on leave of absence from United College, has been appointed Special Lecturer in History at Queen's University for the session 1951-2.

Chester New has retired after 31 years as Head of the Department of History at McMaster University.

L. G. Thomas, of the Department of History at the University of Alberta, has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor.

Arthur Turner, formerly of Glasgow University, Scotland, has been appointed Special Lecturer in History at the University of Toronto for the Session 1951-2.

Peter Waite, who has been doing graduate work at the University of Toronto, has been appointed Sessional Lecturer in History at Dalhousie University.

#### RETIREMENT OF DR. STEWART WALLACE FROM EDITORSHIP OF THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

Dr. Stewart Wallace, Librarian of the University of Toronto and former member of the University Department of History, has recently resigned from his office as Honorary Editor of the Champlain Society. He first joined the Society in 1914 and in 1922 became the Editorial Secretary in succession to Professor George Wrong. Since then he has played a leading part in the Society's activities, as Editorial Secretary from 1922 to 1943, as President from 1943 to 1948, and in the newly created post of "Honorary Editor" from 1948 to 1951.

During this period he has supervised the publication of thirty-three volumes (including the twelve volumes published in conjunction with the Hudson's Bay Company). Of these he personally edited two volumes, John McLean's *Notes of a Twenty-five Year Service in the Hudson's Bay Company*, and *Documents Relating to the Northwest Company*. In 1937 he went to England, on the invitation of the Hudson's Bay Company, to discuss arrangements which led to the series of twelve volumes produced from the archives of the Company and published by the Champlain Society.

Miss Julia Jarvis, who has so ably assisted Dr. Wallace in all this work, will remain as "Editor and Executive Secretary-Treasurer." Dr. J. B. Conacher, of the University of Toronto Department of History, has been appointed by the Council of the Society to succeed Dr. Wallace.

#### CANADIAN MILITARY HISTORY

The Historical Section of the Canadian Army has inaugurated a series of pamphlets under the general title, *Introduction to the Study of Military History for Canadian Students* (Directorate of Military Training, Army Headquarters, Ottawa, 1951). The first pamphlet contains articles on "The Defence of Upper Canada 1812," "The Battle of Amiens, 1818," and "The Normandy Assault, 1944," with maps, bibliographies, and appendices. Eventually the series of pamphlets will be bound into a full-sized volume on Canadian military history, which, it is hoped, will be reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

#### "LES DIX"

The group of French-Canadian historians known as "Les Dix" of Montreal continue to hold their ten monthly meetings a year. Two new members,

Raymond Douville and Jacques Rousseau, have been elected to succeed two of the original members recently deceased, E.-Z. Massicotte and Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne. The group is continuing its ambitious publication programme, which includes the annual *Cahiers*, the biographical sketches by the late Aegidius Fauteux, entitled *Patriotes de 1837-38*, and several pamphlets, including *Essai sur Terre-Neuve* by Mgr Olivier Maurault, *Rameau de Saint-Père et les Français d'Amérique*, and *Généalogie et généalogistes au Canada*, by Gérard Malchelosse. Plans have also been made to publish some other works begun by Aegidius Fauteux and the second volume of Audet's and Surveyer's *Députés au premier Parlement du Bas-Canada, 1792-1796*. The Secretary of "Les Dix" is Gérard Malchelosse, 5759 ave Durocher, Outremont, Montreal; their publications are distributed by Ducharme Bookshop, Montreal.

#### MICROFILMS FROM THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES

The microfilming of the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, which has been undertaken as a joint enterprise by the Company and the Public Archives of Canada, is now progressing at a rapid pace. Some technical difficulties were encountered at first, but two large new cameras have now been installed and are working satisfactorily.

The first shipment of negative films has been received in Ottawa. Positive prints have been made for the Public Archives, and the negatives have been placed in a storage vault for safe keeping. A second and much larger shipment is expected to arrive about the end of the year.

Access to the positive prints will be governed by the same conditions which govern the use of the original documents in the Company's archives in London. The rules and regulations laid down by the Company include the following:

"Applications to work on the Archives or on the Microfilms must be addressed to The Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, Beaver House, Great Trinity Lane, London, E. C. 4, and indicate the definite subject of the proposed research; applications in respect of vague or general subjects cannot be considered. All applications must be accompanied by two references or letters of recommendation.

"Any extracts taken from the Archives or Microfilms with the permission of the Company's Archivist or the Dominion Archivist should be brief and limited to extracts strictly pertinent to the subject in question."

Copies of the complete rules and regulations may be obtained from the Public Archives. [W. K. L.]

#### NUFFIELD TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS

The Nuffield Foundation, London, England, offers travelling fellowships in the United Kingdom in the humanities and social sciences to Canadian scholars with at least one year's teaching experience and holding the Ph.D. or equivalent degree. They are tenable for one year and have a value of about £900 (having regard to individual circumstances) inclusive of travelling expenses. Detailed notices concerning them have been sent to the presidents of all Canadian universities. Applications should be made before January 15, 1952 to G. V. Ferguson, Chairman, Canadian Liaison Committee, Nuffield Foundation, 245 St. James St. W., Montreal, who will be glad to give any further information required by intending candidates.

## GRANTS IN AID OF RESEARCH

The Canadian Social Science Research Council has made available again this year (1951-2) a sum of money to assist scholars in carrying on research in the social sciences. Application for aid should be accompanied by a description of the project for which aid is sought stating the field and subject of research, the importance attached to the project, the present stage of the research, and the prospects of finishing it; and a brief statement of the aid requested showing the approximate amount required (not more than \$300 save in exceptional circumstances), the specific purpose for which the grant would be spent, and the nature and extent of other sources of assistance. Applicants should state their university affiliation and rank, and should list the names of two or three persons well acquainted with their work.

Applications for grants-in-aid may be sent forward at any time and should be directed to C. Cecil Lingard, Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Social Science Research Council, P. O. Box 312, Woodroffe, Ont.

## GERMAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS DOCUMENTS

The United States Department of State has deposited in the National Archives in Washington approximately 100,000 frames of microfilms of documents of the old German Foreign Office. They cover the period from August, 1914 to November, 1918. While not presenting a complete documentation of German foreign policy during the First World War, they contain some of the principal political files and offer large opportunities for research. These files are open to qualified scholars, and photostats of documents can be purchased. The Department expects that additional microfilms for the years 1914-18 will later be released. The British Foreign Office has made a similar release of these German documents to the Public Record Office in London.

## ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS

An interim Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, from Thursday, July 10 to Saturday, July 12, 1952. American and Canadian historians who expect to be in England at that time are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute, Senate House, London, W.C. 1, who will send them full particulars.

## BACK NUMBERS OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

The Bibliothek des Instituts für Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel, an old subscriber to the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, is anxious to fill in gaps in its file of the REVIEW from vol. XX, no. 3, 1939 to vol. XXXI, no. 4, 1950, inclusive. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining foreign exchange the Institut is unable to purchase these back numbers. Readers who do not want to keep copies within this period might care to help fill the gap in one of the relatively few files of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on the European continent. The REVIEW would be glad to receive any offers and thus to try to arrange the assembly of the missing volumes. In order to avoid duplication please do not send the actual copies until the various offers have been correlated and accepted.

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

M. ELIZABETH ARTHUR has received her doctorate from McGill University, and is now teaching at Fort William Collegiate.

DAVID LOWENTHAL is a teaching assistant at the University of Wisconsin.

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# THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## OBJECTS

- To encourage historical research and public interest in history;  
To promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past;  
To publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.

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## ANNUAL REPORTS

Papers read at the annual meetings of the Association are printed in the annual reports. Copies of reports from 1922 to 1950, with the exception of 1927, 1933, 1947 and 1948 which are out of print, are still available. The price is \$2.00 per copy up to that of 1947 and \$3.00 each for subsequent issues.

*For information, address the Acting English Secretary and Treasurer  
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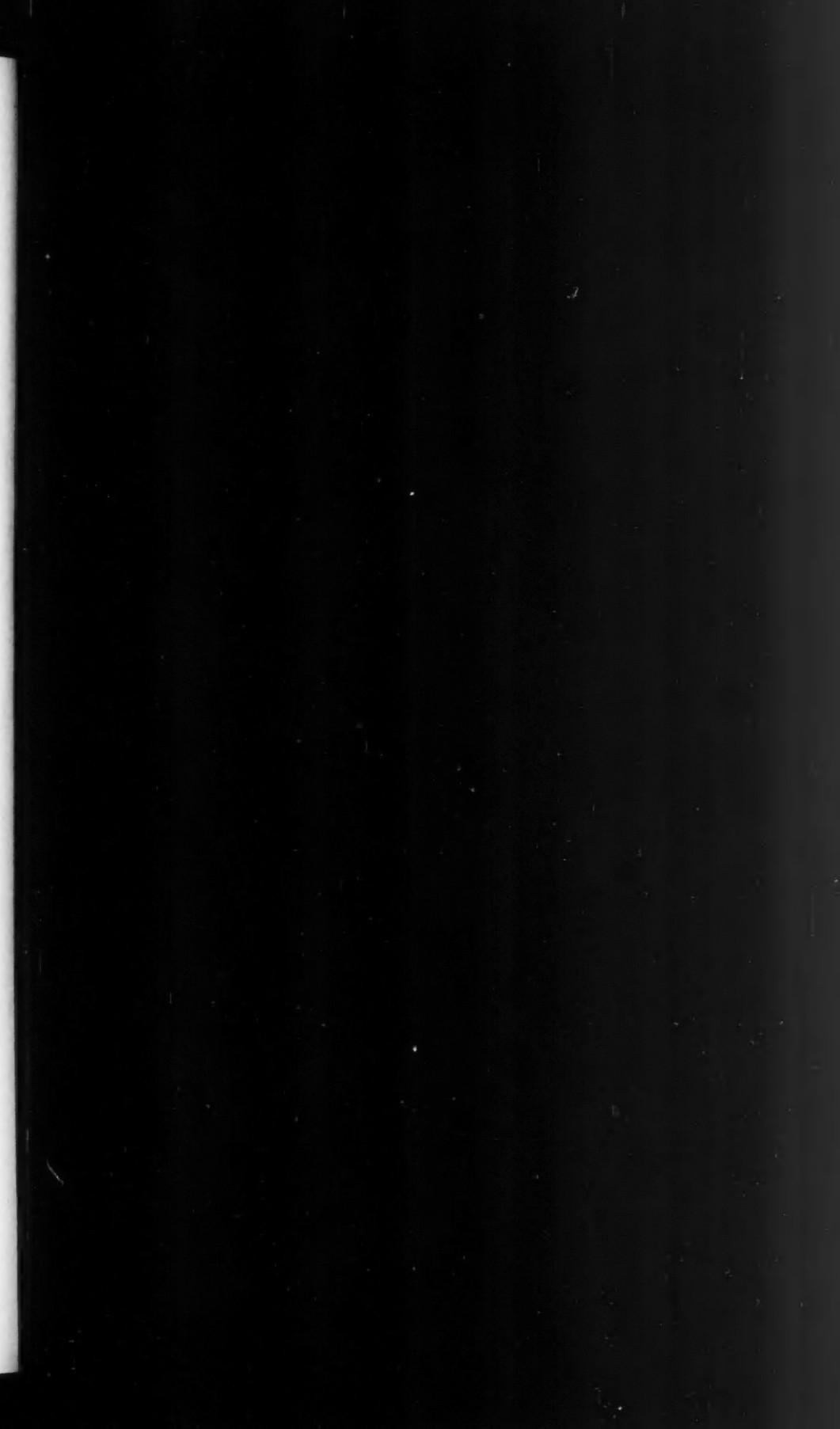
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